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MEASURES

AS WELL AS MEN:

OR,

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

INTERESTS OF GREAT BRITAIN;

WITH

A PLAN

FOR RENDERING US A MARTIAL, AS WELL AS A COMMERCIAL, PEOPLE, AND PROVIDING A MILITARY FORCE ADEQUATE TO THE EXIGENCIES OF THE EMPIRE, AND THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

&c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

SHOULD your Grace favour with your attention the present work, or a few pages of the introduction prefixed to it, you will be able to ascertain my motives for addressing your Grace on the present occasion; and for deriving to this tract that honour, which your name will confer upon it, without my having either solicited your permission, or being known to you. For your Grace would see, that practical improvement, and religion, as it's destined support, are the operative principles, upon which my various proposals depend: and your Grace's anxious inquiries into religion, and

conformity to the purest results of these inquiries, and the high respect which your Grace pays to those, who cultivate useful knowledge and the policy of nations on a scale that is worthy of your notice, are in the strictest unison with those principles.

Previously to your Grace's quitting the high station, which you held as the minister of your country, his Majesty's reign was fortunate in all respects, that were essential to the real interests of his subjects: but since that period it has been agitated by a series of vicissitudes, which have reduced us to the most dreadful extremity of perpetual war and endless taxation. Therefore, more national wisdom was evinced by us as a people, even in the ill-founded and incessant opposition made to his Majesty's ministers during the first part of his reign, than in the zeal and ardour with which we have concurred to support them on all occasions in the latter part of it. Notwithstanding, such popular infatuation must always be expected, until the regular rules and the practical knowledge of general welfare are revealed to nations; they then ceasing to be the victims of the passions. These observations, however, are

not necessary to vindicate your Grace as a minister; but to point out to my countrymen the urgency of candidly reflecting on their past conduct, of being ingenuously sensible of their errours, and of finally relinquishing them, when the above rules and practical knowledge are at length ascertained, and reduced to a simple instrumental form; which, as it is now discovered and explained in the subsequent work, the Almighty has destined for assuring prosperity and happiness to mankind in future ages.

But it is material to account for the marked difference of those two periods of his gracious Majesty's reign, in order more effectually to recommend that new and complete era of human prosperity and happiness, which it is proposed to institute, even at the present moment. At the time of your Grace's retirement from office, parliamentary oratory and ornamental literature had become accredited throughout the nation by all ranks of the people, as the sole means of advancing their prosperity and happiness, of aggrandizing the empire, nay of saving the country. They have now enjoyed the full scope of their wishes, but

with consequences that clearly demonstrate the inanity of them. Lord Chatham's talents of eloquence, and the dictatorial pen of Junius, have for a long term of years given the reins of government to his Lordship's family and it's connections: but it is attempted to be shown in the following pages, that, imitating those talents, they have rendered their country no real service; on the contrary have left it to be involved in perpetual war, when it was our interest, and in all respects practicable, to have established permanent peace. It is true, that perfection cannot be obtained in literature and [illegible]oquence without the acquisition of solid [illegible]cellencies. These accomplishments hov[illegible] we will not envy; we will give them t[illegible] nours and distinctions they may have [illegible] to claim, of being able to concentrate [illegible] and splendours equal to those, which [illegible] stellation of every precious gem of t[illegible] can possibly reflect, shining in all the [illegible] ful hues and combinations of colour, [illegible] all the wild effulgencies of the inf[illegible] diations of light. But they have [illegible] tensions to constitute the grand [illegible] of general welfare; that Sun of soc[illegible]y and

nations, of which practical improvement and religion are the true essence. This Sun, which gives genuine heat and real fertility, is indispensable to the growth and completion of every produce of general welfare, extends alike to all our public and private interests, and is inexhaustible in it's powerful energies and infinite resources to perfect and mature them, however great and numerous they may be, whatever various qualities, and whatever transcendant excellencies they may possess.

Now, when this Sun aspires to constitute the new era of human prosperity and happiness prepared for it's adoption by the errours of the people and the nation, by their indifference to their own public and private interests, and by their past unfortunate attachment to mental acquisitions: now, when this Sun requires to be simply announced to parliament, in order to be instantly felt and acknowledged as the all-cheering life of the interests of nations and society: now when generally known, as may readily be done, this Sun would immediately prove itself to the people, to be the tutelary deity and guardian of their welfare, prosperity, and happi-

ness, whom they have so long sought for in vain in men and parties: now, when the vast genius, character, energies, and infinite merits of my countrymen, too valuable surely never to be employed in consummating their own interests, are capable of bringing all the proposals of the following work to their highest perfection, and of supplying all others that may be omitted; yet, even now, there is too much reason to regret, lest the charms of retirement should persuade your Grace, that your years permit not your participation in the burdensome labours attendant on the direction of the helm of state, and your most patriotic and anxious wishes to serve your country and mankind obey the suggestion.

It is however, as they are exemplary in your Grace's character, that respect and veneration for whatever can advance the universal good of mankind, for whatever is conducive to the public and private prosperity and happiness of your country, and that high sense of religion, as she can with her energies effectually support these, and give them exaltation and due preeminence, in order to secure them from violation in every material

respect, and as she farther binds herself to them with the roseate wreaths of rational pleasure, and the tempered transports of dignified joy; by which alone ministers, looking up to your Grace, can save this country, rescue it from misery and destruction, and readily make it the greatest and happiest of nations.

I HAVE,

May it please Your Grace,

the honour of being

Your Grace's most humble,

and most respectful

obedient servant,

AN HONEST MAN.

INTRODUCTION.

I PROPOSE here to take a short and summary view of the following subjects: the urgency there is for the present publication, as it will convince us not only of our real incapacity to understand and pursue our true interests, but of our having fundamentally adopted and regularly organized whatever defects of political and civil knowledge, and whatever deteriorative principles may prevent the removal of such incapacity, and render our minds impenetrable to permanent truth, and practical perfection: the sufficiency of the means of saving the nation, of removing our present difficulties and distresses, and of establishing a new and complete era of human prosperity and happiness, without delay, which we have, on one

hand, in the efficacy of the proposals announced in the body of the work, already so far prepared and rendered practicable, as to be capable of being immediately realized and brought to perfection by the genius and resources of the nation; and, on the other hand, in the present state of men and parties being singularly propitious to carry those proposals into immediate effect, and give the public and individuals all the advantages of such a transcendant and fortunate era: the peace recommended in the following pages, as it is the sole, at least the sole desirable, instrument of restoring and preserving the electorate of Hanover to the royal family seated upon the British throne: the outlines of a plan for making us a martial people, and providing a military force adequate to the exigencies of the empire; which will render such a peace safe and prudent in all respects, give it the greatest possible support and solidity, and secure the United Kingdom from the fatal consequences of an invasion: and lastly the disproportion between the vast aggregate of general welfare, and the attention we pay to it, exemplified in a short view of the means of procuring

peace. The first two subjects constitute the leading views of the work. But the latter are not inferiour in consequence, although there was no opportunity of introducing the consideration of them at sufficient length into the body of the work, any more indeed than into the introduction. They in themselves refer to objects of the highest importance; but they farther show the infinite advantages of the art of practical improvement, from which alone they are derived; as this is capable of adapting itself to every exigence, and of providing the most powerful means for the accomplishment of every possible interest of nations and society. For in respect of this art it is not too sublime a conception to say, since the succeeding pages will support the assertion; that kings, whose thrones have hitherto been no strangers to imperfection and misfortune, which render themselves less beneficial to their subjects, and impair the splendour and lustre of majesty, and practical improvement, which it is at length discovered may be applied to every human, national, and individual interest, and is capable of carrying the whole of such interests to the highest perfection, and at the same

time of elevating royalty to it's highest dignity, and of leaving it subject only to such imperfections and inconveniences, as are unavoidable in a sublunary state of things, ought in future for ever to reign together in perfect harmony and confidence, in order to make kings and their subjects prosperous and happy, and efficiently advance their mutual interests to those celestial heights, which have hitherto been the mere speculations of human revery and delusion.

In respect of the first of the subjects announced, our incapacity to understand and pursue our interests; there can be no hesitation in affirming what the work will prove, not only that we are so incapable, but that we have organized the means that may for ever render us thus incapable, in having effectually suppressed even the probable idea of the existence of a proper subject of human prosperity and happiness; in having permanently adopted a false and pretended system of general welfare; in the fixed aversion of government to practical improvement, and the real study of universal good, and it's having substituted for these

oratorical and literary ability; in the quantity of passion which we intermingle with all national concerns, and which, as will appear hereafter, effectually blinds the mind, and totally subverts the power of judgment; and in deliberately giving universal dominion to the power of the passions, by accrediting their dictates and whatever suggestions they can convey in profusion of speeches and writings, newspapers and caricatures. Hence we do not possess a conception of our true interests; know not the fundamental means of advancing them, applying only to incidental resources for the purposes of rectifying and aggrandizing the interests of empires; and, never ceasing to act upon the fatal consequences of our errours, instead of recurring to first principles, we at length, like an immense torrent augmented with all it's different overflowing streams, spread ruin and desolation not only over ourselves, but over the whole World. Nay, having thus proceeded in all ages upon the genuine principles of folly, weakness, calamity, and crime, we call the state which they produce the natural condition of men and nations, and brand, as theoretical, the means adequate to

introduce that good and happy constitution of things, which God intended for the benefit of mankind. Plunging into the abyss of perpetual war, we cannot perceive through the distraction of our passions. and the clouds with which they envelop the understanding, that our enemy may only be as reprehensible as ourselves, that we ourselves may be the party blamable, that our own proceedings may have given birth to those of which we complain, and that the motives, which we conceive compel us to prosecute eternal war, do not on sober reflection militate in the least against that salutary and permanent peace, which it is in our power to command at the instant.

Hence ministers have not understood the essential sciences and arts of advancing and completing the prosperity and happiness of mankind and their own country, so far as such knowledge is unavoidably necessary on their part and on all occasions, and although the least deficiency of theirs in these points must be extensively ruinous and destructive: and it is only at the present pe-

riod, that a private individual, the author of the income or property tax, has come forward to remedy the infinite evils of nations; he having aspired to understand every simple and compound interest of general welfare, and to prepare, and happily apply the different practical means of advancing and consummating universal good. Hence it is a principal object of the present pamphlet, on the one hand, to expose the conduct of those ministers, who have brought us into our present situation; and to show, that no minister, however splendid his pretensions may be, however high he may rank in the opinion of his friends and the World at large, can at all merit the title of GREAT in the present infancy, or rather ignorance and perversion of human prosperity and happiness; but will himself prove the contrary in the sufferings and privations he imposes upon his country, and the calamities and distresses he inflicts upon mankind from weak and mistaken views of policy, in miscarriage and inability to direct and accomplish his own undertakings, in being a perfect stranger to the grand system of human welfare, in precipitating the destruction of his country, and in the ultimate issue

of the successes of false glory, and popular delusion: and, on the other hand, for the sake of my country and mankind, to render justice to the numerous proposals of an individual, who has shown us how effectually to counteract and remedy the misery and ruin, which ministers have produced in the present and past periods, and how still to retrieve, and consummate the interests of humanity.

In regard to the second subject announced, the subsequent work will sufficiently vindicate the truth of the first part of the assertion contained therein; that is, the validity of the system of measures which it recommends, as adequate, without delay, to save the nation; to remove our present difficulties and distresses, and to establish a new and complete era of human prosperity and happiness. The sole obstacle to it's success, and shall it be called an obstacle? is, that the system is a scientific subject, and the chastest of all practical sciences; must unavoidably embrace the detail of the small objects which are essential to it; and is expressed in language that affects simpli-

city, and aspires principally to explain and interpret the facts and evidence on which it rests. Hence it divests itself of all the allurements, with which literature and eloquence so studiously recommend themselves to our passions: and it will not receive that support which is essential to it's success, until we attach a noble and liberal enthusiasm to the cause of practical improvement, and consider this as the means of advancing private fortune no less than the affluence of the country, as the perfection of individuals as well as of nations, as the intention of God and the glory of man, and as the remedy of past evils however infinite, and the instrument of future blessings, which surpass our powers of imagination.

It is however more necessary to enlarge upon the remaining part of the assertion; upon the state of parties and the different interests of the country, as they are not adverse, but on the contrary singularly propitious to the institution of the era, and the measures, that will hereafter be recommended. It may be observed in the first place, that the present ministry is constructed in

the most desirable manner for bringing to a speedy issue the important question, whether ministers can devise a system of measures, which may be substituted for effecting the purposes of that here proposed. We however know well from long and adequate experience, that lord Grenville, lord Sidmouth, and Mr. Wyndham, do not pretend to devise such a system; and that their sentiments and prepossessions in respect of the enemy are incompatible with the true principles of establishing a sincere and permanent peace between France and this country. They must acknowledge, that the political judgment of ministers, who have withdrawn themselves from all the extensive views of national improvement, and therefore from the due exercise of the political mind in it's native tract and latitude, must, as facts have shown in all ages and all countries, be weak and inefficient, and incompetent to produce a perfect and practical system of general welfare. Likewise they, the literary advocates who support them, and the people at large who embrace the same sentiments and prepossessions, may be convinced, by examining the succeeding pages, that from the irresistibility

and influence of passionate deception, it is absolutely impracticable for any man, who has given the reins to his passions during the course of the wars attendant upon the French revolution, and who cannot act the part of the coolest of philosophers upon this awful event and it's concomitant circumstances, either to judge, or to make a proper use of the opportunity, which the subsequent proposals alone afford, for establishing a peace of the most advantageous and permanent nature with France: and accountable as ministers must be for the past and present wars in which we are engaged, who would wish to make them duly sensible of the blame they have incurred in being the authors of them? On the other hand, their country may expect, that their virtues, and the gratitude they owe her, will lead them duly to estimate an adequate system of public measures proposed by another; and prevent them from retrying their past schemes, from devising worse, as was the misfortune of Mr. Pitt's last administration, or even from pursuing the common routine of measures, when the prosperity,

happiness, and independance of their country are finally staked.

There then remains only an appeal to be made to one minister, to a high character indeed, to Mr. Fox; and which may perhaps with propriety be couched in the following words:—"Your country, Sir, cannot permit you at this time, notwithstanding what your friends seem to wish, to submit and accommodate your political sentiments and opinions to those of the illustrious parties above mentioned, and for reasons there stated. It is therefore necessary for it to know, and to be certain, whether you can propose a system of measures, which will answer the purposes of that recommended in the succeeding pages, and which will save and confer happiness on your country: whether you will advance adequate elucidations of arduous and comprehensive subjects like the question of permanent peace summarily discussed in this tract, which now, Sir, are become indispensable to the general and individual interests of your country: whether you have made those discove-

ries, which are the basis of the improvement and perfection of nations; whether you can produce those practical combinations, inventive energies, and inexhaustible expedients, which are capable of completing human prosperity and happiness, and are indispensably wanted to redress the fatal errours of past ministries, and to extricate us from the distresses and privations which these have imposed upon us, and arrest the farther precipitate career of national destruction. If you be incompetent thus effectually to serve your country, yet you will not oppose but patronize the institution of a system, which is adequate to these purposes. You, on whom your country has depended to the last extremity, cannot be the man now to desert her for the sake of power and party on the precipice of irretrievable ruin and calamity." Your answer, as a man of philanthropy and patriotism, may be anticipated to the following effect:—"I have conscientiously discharged my duties in parliament, and pursued the usual routine of political study and historical precedents of past times, and have rendered and attempted to render eminent, but single and detached ser-

vices to my country, and might still continue to do the same. But I have not explored the boundless field of national improvement, as this aspires to the views of Providence in the creation, and affords the opportunity of rectifying public affairs, and of advancing, retrieving, and completing the various interests of my country. I cannot produce such a system as is demanded at my hands: and therefore wholly, or in a great measure, pursuing the paths of my predecessors, and adhering to their views and arguments, and to the routine of office and precedent, I must follow and aggravate, infinitely aggravate, their system of warfare and taxation. I thus cannot pretend in an unusual and extraordinary line of administration to render to my country and the World at large those interesting and indispensable services, which their present situation imperiously demands. On these accounts, and farther, because I have already declared new principles of directing public affairs to be required, and the principles followed in the present reign to be highly erroneous, and therefore rules and views of government novel, remedial, meliorative, salutary, productive and certain of

producing only what is good, sublime, great and liberal, and the reverse of what the past have been, to be in future indispensable; I pledge myself to my country, to mankind, and to my God, that I will support the system of measures now proposed with all the weight of my influence and character, and devote the application of my talents to it's improvement and perfection."

As the present ministry may be incompetent to adduce a system of measures commensurate to our present exigencies, and the infinite advantages which we have a right to possess in society, and may be indisposed to adopt a system the production of others, in proportion their sole assumption of the reins of government ceases to be a national object, and the cause of their country. Therefore, the sovereign sensibly affected with compassion for his beloved and distressed subjects, thoroughly convinced that the most energetic and comprehensive views and measures are necessary to secure his throne and the independance of his people, and too happy that infinite good can through a new and complete era of human pro-

sperity and happiness be substituted for infinite evil, may himself be personally induced to embrace the opportunity of founding such a system, and of making a still more comprehensive coalition of parties, that will exclude no considerable party whatever, and comprehend the present opposition; in order more effectually to realize the different proposals of this publication, which in expectation of so glorious an event actually contains the addresses necessary to be made on the occasions to him and the different parts of the community. The interests of the sovereign and the people are identified in the system proposed. They both should alike support it, and both alike are personally and feelingly connected with it: for distress, misery, and ruin, now attack the mansion and the cottage with greater violence than the palace itself, while in the end they will involve all of them equally in destruction. All of us must therefore reflect and be convinced, that it is not Mr. Fox, but a system of measures alone, that can be our saviour; that in possessing such a system, we have no reason to abandon ourselves either to despondence, or to desperate expedients,

but every reason to exert sincerely our active energies in support of the system; and that on this account we should desist, as we do at present, from meanly and effeminately despairing of the general welfare, like the Roman people in the fatal decline of their empire. We have a just and loyal cause to support in the presence of our sovereign, neither as partymen, nor as demagogues, but as real patriots, and true subjects. Our sovereign will thus in the end be sure to be informed and convinced of the true means of removing and preventing our extreme misery, distress, and ruin, and of the real merits of the system proposed: and, when a fair and true statement of the question comes to be laid before him, will perceive, that it is his own immediate cause and that of his successors, the cause which alone can at the same time reconcile his enemies, and support his throne against them, the cause which can most powerfully bind the hearts of his subjects to him by the indissoluble bonds of love, gratitude, and loyalty.

It is therefore incumbent on every individual to come forward in the manner proposed, and exert himself in founding a new era of the completion

of public and private prosperity and happiness. Every individual, in perusing this small pamphlet, will see the necessity of establishing such an era, even in support of his friends and family, his private fortune and daily bread: and that means effectual, practicable, in all respects desirable, and wholly freed from objections, are abundantly provided to establish it. Every individual must be convinced, that the measures now pursued by government are similar to those of past administrations, afford no prospect of being more fortunate, and must in their failure be as ruinous and destructive. Every individual may be convinced from the contents of this pamphlet, that the era proposed is adequate to rectify the present state of our affairs, to remedy the evils of preceding governments, and consummate in our favour the highest possible degree of human prosperity and happiness. Every individual must be convinced that those views can no longer be trifled with, remitted, or abandoned. Every individual who understands the cause, and who may not understand it in the following pages? will be certain, that it is the cause of his God, his king, his country, himself and mankind; and should support it as effec-

tually, as the indispensable duties, which he severally owes to these, require from his hands. Every individual should employ whatever influence he possesses, to forward the cause; advance every friendly effort to expedite it's passage to it's destined haven: and no man relinquish the charge by resigning it to another. Every individual must know what a number of men attached to ministry and to parties suppose their measures only to be right, and can approve only their views; and ought therefore to exert himself, in order to supply the great loss of these to the cause of his country: and these men themselves should be convinced of the folly and crime of such fatal predilection at the present period. Every individual should be aware of the infinite advantages and inherent attractions of the era, and the system by which it is proposed to be effected, and of these being capable of carrying it into effect with the least possible impulse; and should on this account reflect, that his own importance and individual efforts, whatever they are, may actually be the instrument, and the sole instrument of founding the new era, and consummating human happiness and prosperity. Thus the community to a

man may concur in supporting the cause: and at any rate a sufficient concurrence will be provided to carry it into effect. Thus the sole difficulty of establishing the era proposed, which is adherent, not to the undertaking, easy in itself in all respects, but merely to the perverse hinderance of it's adoption, will be effectually removed: and it is obvious to common sense, that until the era requisite for these purposes is commenced, and actually undertaken, human prosperity and happiness can never be completed, present distress remedied, and future misery and ruin prevented.

In particular we must attach ourselves wholly to the cause itself, and be seduced from it by no pretences whatever; by no species of unproductive embellishment; by nothing that may be offensive to majesty; by no ambitious leaders, and by no mere reformers. The man of talents must devote himself to advance the real interests of general welfare, and principally by practical improvement; and at least not sacrifice them to unproductive and impracticable dreams of liberty, and to his own favourite pursuits. Hence a parliamentary reform must not be expected to precede, but

be posteriour to the era. It is a boon that cannot sooner be obtained: and, if it could, in subjecting the introduction of the era to infinite fears, suspicions, and jealousies, would be highly injurious to it's establishment. Hence, likewise, the powers of literature, however valuable as secondary, must here be humbly subservient, and cannot possibly prove the foundation of a great undertaking that wholly depends on the arts of practical improvement.

In respect of the third subject announced in the beginning of the introduction, or the means of restoring and securing the possession of the electorate of Hanover to the royal family seated on the British throne, there is no other mean than that peace of perfect friendship, and almost certain permanence, which is hereafter recommended to be established between France and Great Britain. Otherwise, France will not cause Hanover to be restored; at least, if she do, will not leave it long in our possession, since the opportunity it affords us of introducing an immense body of forces upon the continent is too serious

a concession for her to grant, while she has sufficient grounds to believe, that we will on all occasions make use of it in this manner against her interests. We therefore must not expect the secure possession, if the restitution, of Hanover, while we possess avowed enmity to France, actually seek to exterminate her, are determined to destroy her navigation and commerce, never cease to form alliances on the continent, and prosecute an uninterrupted series of wars against her. The peace proposed, when established between the two powers, would be rendered durable by the most powerful motives; in particular, by the infinite advantages of it to both parties; by that alteration in the conduct of nations, which would arise from the establishment of a new era of the World, or of human prosperity and happiness; by the purity and excellence of an enlightened system of the general welfare of mankind being ascertained and rendered universally known, which it would be accounted impious to violate; by the due and proper impulse of religion; by the attention of nations being earnestly directed to objects truly interesting to them, instead of those

which are ruinous and destructive; in fine, by various considerations the most urgent possible. Thus Hanover may long remain prosperous and happy under it's lawful sovereign. Otherwise, in the new political situation of the continent it must with the incessant recurrence of war be subject to seizure and spoliation, in a manner too dreadful for the royal family to wish either to repossess or to retain it. In making peace with France we can command the restoration of this electorate; for we can readily procure it by treaty, unless she believe, that she can be secure solely by it's retention. It is no doubt fair, that we should have such access to the continent, and such control on France, as the possession of Hanover would afford: and the other powers of the continent would find their advantage in ours. On the other hand, Prussia might readily be indemnified elsewhere for the sacrifice she makes in relinquishing the electorate: and it may be politic on our part to recollect, that she has been thrown into the arms of France in consequence of the winter war of 1805.

THE OUTLINES OF A PLAN for making us a martial people, and for providing a military force adequate to the exigencies of the empire, and the security of the United Kingdom, are next to be taken into consideration: but it is not proposed to include the explanation at large, much less the vindication of the measures proposed. For a pamphlet can admit only the skeleton of an incidental plan, the detail of which would require the whole of a much larger work to be appropriated to it. However, the present outlines may in great measure vindicate themselves by the energy, unity, and simplicity of the means which they recommend, so as to be justly preferred to proposals that are incomplete and ineffective in numerous respects, and never can answer their intended purposes. They who have read the tracts published of late on the subject of the plan, will not regret any want of explanation they may find in the present propositions; and they who have paid no attention to those tracts may be satisfied with the explanation given, without requiring the full discussion of a subject,

that has been so much canvassed. It is proper however to be somewhat more explicit in respect of the expense, that may attend the execution of the plan: yet this objection will be found totally inapplicable, when we fairly advert to the importance of the object, the necessity of the measures proposed to accomplish it, the infinite increase of wealth which this publication offers, and which we may possess if we choose, and the vast saving of expenditure, that will accrue from employing the plan, as is proposed, to perpetuate a permanent peace between France and ourselves.

Part 1*st.* The military force of the kingdom is proposed to consist of a standing army applicable alike to foreign and domestic service, of a home army, similar to the present militia, and of the disciplined aggregate, or levy of the people in mass. The two first should in number be adequate to the actual exigencies of the country, and at the same time be duly proportioned to each other, as may be thought most advisable. They should, in the first instance, be

raised by voluntary enlistment, so far as it is practicable to employ it; the bounties for enlistment being differently fixed in respect of the standing and home armies, so as to give a sufficient preference to the former: but in cases of real emergency, the soldiers of the home army may be permitted to volunteer into the standing army. Where these armies cannot be sufficiently supplied with men by the bounties proper to be fixed and employed for the purpose, a forced supply of recruits may be procured from the disciplined aggregate of the people by proper devices, sanctioned however always at the time in parliament, and hereafter to be considered. Under apprehension of invasion, likewise in other cases, a greater or smaller part of the aggregate force may at pleasure be called out on permanent duty: but it is principally intended to supply all losses which the two former during an invasion might sustain, though to act in all respects, as may be judged most expedient to oppose the enemy; insomuch that the kingdom could not be conquered without beating every disciplined member of the community capable

of bearing arms, and at the same time possessing the perfect use of them; which is an event morally impossible.

Part 2d. It not being the object of the plan to embrace military matters and improvements, that refer to the constitution, support, provision, and qualification of an army at large, and it's different subdivisions, what is here necessary to point out in respect of the standing army, or first division of the military force of the kingdom, principally relates to the recruiting of it. Accordingly, the men requisite to constitute it should be raised for service, so far as it can be done, by such a bounty as may be deemed effectual, considering always the true policy of making afterward a soldier's life happy and comfortable, and therefore sufficiently desirable without an immoderate bounty: and at all times they should be enlisted only for seven years, with the reservation however of continuing in the service until the end of any war, that may exist at the end of that term. Enlisting for a second seven years' service, what would be a sufficient motive, they should receive, beside a proper bounty, an addition of one fourth

to their daily pay. In enlisting for a third term, some distinction in dress at the time, and what in the language of the day is called the Chelsea pension *, at the end of 21 years, should, beside a proper bounty, be given and secured to them; which would be a sufficient and very powerful inducement to enter upon the last term of a soldier's regular career. They should never lose the Chelsea pension by being disbanded at any time, provided they engage themselves to reenter on service when called upon. Volunteers from the home into the standing army should be allowed to include, in the proposed term of 21 years' service for procuring the Chelsea pension, not the whole, but such a fair portion of the time they may have served in the home army or militia, as the preference to be given to the standing army may prescribe. What are above mentioned, the additional pay at the end of seven years, and the Chelsea pension at that of twenty-one, are proposed to extend in general to the soldiers enlisted before the time of parliament's sanctioning the present plan, though the Chelsea

* 1s. per day.

pension it may be thought proper to reserve to the veteran soldier with his discharge, until the termination, a speedy one it ought to be! of the present war.

Part 3d. What has under the last head been proposed in respect of the standing army, is intended in general to be applicable to the home army, with the exception, however, that the bounty of enlistment, and the Chelsea pension proposed to be extended to this, should be so far less in value, as to give a due preference to the standing army. Farther, the home army, as being with different proposed improvements what the militia is at present, should be attached to the different counties: should not remain on service in peace; and might work at getting in the harvest even in time of war, when this indulgence could be permitted. In war the regiments of the different contiguous counties might, as convenient, be formed together into brigades, which thus would be highly animated with the sentiment of the local honour of their respective counties. Likewise it might be useful at this time to associate with the different companies of the home

regiments privates of the standing army, who have seen service. But the greatest improvement would be to give regular rank, and full pay, to the officers of the home army in time of peace, who should also be appointed by the crown. This is indispensable to make good commissioned, as well as good noncommissioned officers, on the qualification of whom the value of their men as soldiers wholly depends: and such officers, and the troops they would form, can alone be relied upon to meet the invading army that may be expected to come against them. It is principally our home army on whom the defence of our kingdom depends: and it is absurd in the highest degree not to give it the best of officers, who can be made such only by full pay, and by devoting their thoughts and ambition fundamentally to their profession. Besides, their services, as is proposed, are necessary and essential in time of peace, to train effectually the disciplined aggregate of the kingdom.

Part 4th. In respect of the disciplined aggregate of the people, which is intended to be placed on the most effective footing such a service will

permit, the mention of a few particulars may be sufficient to give an idea of the whole. All persons, not belonging to the regular armies, the navy, and the church, and of suitable age and constitution, should be enrolled and trained to arms in the most effectual manner in their respective parishes and townships by active drill officers, chosen from the regular army, and thus rewarded for any extraordinary merit they may have displayed of good conduct and courage. Different regiments should be formed, embracing the disciplined aggregate of so many townships and parishes, as may be thought most expedient. The commissioned officers should be appointed by the crown, and, with the noncommissioned officers, chosen from the aggregates of the townships and parishes that constitute each particular regiment. In time of peace, the whole should act, when on duty and exercise, under the inspection of the officers of the home army, as may be required, and, on days of general assembling, along with the noncommissioned officers of the home army, by which means there would be no need annually to call out in peace the home army, as has been the practice in respect of the militia.

For at any rate during peace the soldiers of the home army may for a few days at a time be exercised along with the aggregates, as they may be called, and the discipline of the latter would be improved by this means. The different parishes and townships should be answerable by fine, a practice congenial with ancient times, for the good discipline of their respective aggregates, but should have the right of fining these for nonattendance, and of presenting the idle and negligent among them, who in this case should be called into actual duty under the drill officers; likewise of presenting these officers for negligence in duty. The aggregates would be able to learn their exercise in a manner sufficiently convenient for themselves, much of it at their own houses: and at least the young aggregates should be required to make themselves proficient in the art of fencing with one or other kind of weapon proper for the purpose. After they have acquired discipline, so far as residence at home permits, they may three or four days at a time meet and be exercised together regimentally in the nearest and most central market towns of consequence in their neighbourhood: for they should be sub-

jected as little as possible to the great inconvenience of a longer absence from home. Nay, when it may at any time be found urgent, different contiguous regiments of aggregates may be assembled and brigaded together. For convenience, also as may farther be thought advisable, only a part of the aggregates of the different parishes and townships may be taught their exercise, and trained regimentally at any one time in their respective central market towns: and different aggregate regiments may be partially called out on service.

Arms should be provided at the expense of government for such persons, as are not in circumstances to supply their own. For a considerable part of the expense of the aggregate service might be borne by the different townships and parishes, which would be a favourite with the community at large, as superseding in a great measure the hardships now imposed by the militia. The whole service should be properly superintended by military inspectors. Likewise, it would be proper to exempt freely from service persons at a certain age, and under particular circumstances, but less freely in time of war. Otherwise, the

fewest possible indulgencies should be granted to youth, the object of the plan being to form a martial people by a regular education of arms, and early habits of military obedience and familiar reflection on danger. An education, which itself is as necessary as dancing to the formation of the outward man, and acquired with equal pains, would prove not less durable in it's effects. A military education, and the regular organization of the disciplined aggregate being inviolably supported, any exemption from service may be permitted that is requisite or reasonable.

Farther, it would be requisite to suppress the volunteers, the maintenance of which service must interfere with the purposes of the disciplined aggregate, weaken it in respect of officers and men, and strongly militate against the simplicity and unity of the present plan. Besides, it is certain, to whatever height of discipline some corps of volunteers have been carried, they cannot in general be brought to sufficient perfection for service.

Part 5th. When men cannot be provided by voluntary enlistment as the exigencies of state re-

quire, and parliament attests the necessity of taking other measures for the purpose, what men are wanted should be procured compulsorily, by ballot, impress, rotation, and otherwise, as may be judged most expedient. It is apprehended, none of these means might be required to recruit the standing army, because in this case it is proposed to receive volunteers into it from the home army. Besides, such compulsion would not be intolerable to a martial people, as the nation is proposed to be, proper measures being taken to mitigate it's inconveniences, and reconcile it's repugnancy to popular feeling; public agency, that would conduct the business in the most lenient and least oppressive manner, having been previously instituted: such aggregates as may be ballotted and impressed being provided at the time with requisite necessaries, not being taken too early from home before they had or might have learned the means of a livelihood, and being discharged at the end of the war, or sooner, if possible; and at the end of the war a proper consideration being given to each, as the case may require and a liberal nation may choose to recompense those whom it has forced into service. However, compulsion would be less necessary in consequence of the

present plan, than of any other: the army would be universally respected: the people not be indisposed to a military life: and that desertion would cease, which is so common and ruinous to the army at present.

Part 6th. Military skill and knowledge of all kinds, as they comprehend the perfection of the art of war, should be thoroughly understood; should be as capable of being carried into due effect; and should every where be diffused throughout the armies and different aggregate bodies, as the service may be most benefitted thereby. In particular the officers should thus be rendered complete and effective for their different duties and actual command: ought in general to be examined before they receive their appointments: and, as may be necessary, should previously serve as cadets. Systems of all kinds of military knowledge, obvious to the general capacity, should be happily devised at the expense of government, and be procurable at a moderate price: and, as necessary, they may readily be taught and explained in arithmetical and mathematical schools, which in a general view of education ought to be founded in every great central market town

throughout the kingdom. Likewise we should duly study and cultivate military improvements, and collect them from other countries. It is only in this manner, that we shall be able to acquire skill and talents, that may qualify us to stand the contest with rivals transcendant in the art of war, and that a people can be great and warlike: and certainly neither court favour nor parliamentary influence should in any respect militate against the good of the service, and supersede claims of superiour merit, so as to weaken and counteract the present plan. Above all things, the private soldier and aggregate should be taught to fire with deliberation and exact aim. To corporal dexterity and the precision of tactics should be associated mental discipline, moral habits, and the mind or character of the soldier: and these might be understood, and the man formed, in the most perfect manner, by the chaplains of regiments, and by confiding the care of the human mind, as a necessary part of a practical system of general welfare, to the religious agency of the kingdom at large; so as most effectually to complete the soldier, actuate the hero, and contribute to form the great commander.

Part 7th. Finally the martial genius, supported by whatever can contribute to it's perfection, may be impressed upon the people at large, as well as the regular army, in such a manner as to draw forth all the possible energies of the man for supporting the cause of his country. It may be effectually formed in time of peace, as the use of arms is a necessary part of education to render a man able, active, and accomplished: and the excesses of martial genius might always be effectually counteracted by a system, which professes "Peace on Earth, Good Will toward Men," and by abolishing the brutal custom of duelling, which is as injurious to the social relations as to the life of man. The martial genius, cultivated in a proper degree as a principle of education, would imprint on the heart military enthusiasm, delight in heroism, and contempt of the hardships and dangers of war, from the earliest period of youth: and the soul of the warrior might be infused into all ranks, and pass readily from the general and soldier to the peasant, the manufacturer, and mechanic.

Due regard paid to merit, adequate pay and

necessaries supplied to make a military life happy and comfortable, and proper objects for emulation and ambition held forth, to the officers * as well as to the privates, who fight or are ready to fight the battles of their country, are indispensable incentives, which liberality, gratitude, and interest, powerfully recommend, ensuring the advantages of the plan and the support of the public cause. For high recompense, honours, and distinctions, must not be estranged in the military profession from extraordinary courage, ability, conduct, knowledge, and experience, but be a part of the price of serving and defending our country. A farther incentive is wanted, which is supplied in the following work. For this presents a system of general welfare, which will effectually relieve us from that excess of taxation and misery, under which no people will fight for their government and country; will perfect the man, and, rendering punishment less necessary and severe, make the service much more agreeable: will rouse the national spirit to it's highest exaltation: and call forth the irresistible

* Their pay in general is very inadequate.

valour of patriotism; while the nation is proudly conscious of possessing in the system a highly enviable and inappreciable treasure of immortal glory and inexhaustible beneficence for rectifying public affairs and aggrandizing the empire; a treasure wholly unknown to the Romans in the decline of their empire, eminently surpassing the boasted splendour and advantages of the French revolution, and the certain means of infinitely increasing our wealth and population.

Thus a plan may be formed and matured to perfect the military strength of the country. Being comparatively considered with the late proposals laid before parliament for the same purpose, it will discover such energy and efficacy, as must prove these to be inadequate and ineffective. At the same time it must ensure the faithful services of the whole disciplined aggregate of the kingdom of Ireland: would indissolubly connect us with our king and constitution: will render the peace hereafter recommended safe and prudent, as well as sure and effectual in all respects: and add another to the numerous motives which imperiously prescribe no longer to delay

the opportunity we possess in the subsequent proposals, of forming a permanent and advantageous peace; no longer to deceive ourselves by ill-grounded expectations, that there are any other means of forming such a peace, that such a peace can possibly be made in conformity with our past system of politics, and that the peace, which appears to be intended at some future day, will be for the real interest of the nation.

Before proceeding to the subject of the work, it may farther be useful to make some observations upon the general incapacity under which we labour, in respect of the grand comprehensive subject of general welfare, on account of it's vast extent, magnitude, and variety, the numerous requisites essential to constitute and advance it, the infinite errours necessary to be removed, and the too little progress we have made in it. All these particulars we ought to know, omitting none of them: and we must fully comprehend, and determine with an accurate judgment, upon the general prospect of them, in such a manner as the free and unbiassed views of practical improvement alone can suggest; by the eyes of

which art only can a statesman distinguish errours as he ought, rectify them, and advance the interests of his country and the World to their intended perfection. Ministers therefore will not be offended, while I attempt to put them here sufficiently on their guard, by pointing out to them, that general welfare as a whole can not be said to have been studied, and by informing them in an impressive manner, what extensive industry, new efforts, and alterations of conduct, are necessary on their part. Nay, the single object of peace, as it is, and can only be summarily treated in this pamphlet, presents a complex view, to which it is very possible they may have supposed it unnecessary to advert, notwithstanding the immediate establishment and future permanence of peace which depend on it: and embracing considerations as numerous as the laws that actuate and control our planetary system, may in a single additional paragraph shadow out the proper magnitude of the subject of general welfare, and the inadequacy of the thought, application, and talents, with which we have hitherto cultivated and forwarded it's most important interests.

What have we not yet to do in respect of the single object of peace! What vast comprehension, and clearness and solidity of judgment, are yet necessary to enable us to act upon the happy combination of numerous particulars, for the future purpose of procuring a permanent and advantageous peace! We have to explore new means for accomplishing this most important purpose, that involve considerations of extensive subjects, of which we have no idea, but which can be, and are, placed on the most perfect ground of conviction; the founding even of a new kingdom of Assyria by Great Britain, the colonization of Egypt by the French, and other considerations novel and extraordinary, by which all the difficulties in the way of arriving at a desirable peace can effectually, nay readily be surmounted *.

* If we will not adopt such means, and take proper measures to procure this most desirable peace, we must be content with a bad peace. But it is too important not to observe, lest the latter should be our choice, that it would be our advantage to cede Malta even directly to France, rather than to retain it ourselves, in order to pro e a continual provocation, and ground of war, as otherwise would be unavoidable. For the possession of Gibraltar, and the conquest of Minorca, or of Malta itself, in our future wars, would enable us to watch suffi-

We have to relinquish, what is indeed difficult, and to some ministers would be impossible, those politics which we have hitherto pursued in regard to the continent; and, what however is our highest interest, to make our own strength superiour to the possible increase of that of France, as well as to husband it for our own protectiou and that of the World We have to discontinue the promotion of the present weakness of the continental powers, nay by this means to permit the recovery of their strength, and thus to avoid alliances, that would generate perpetual jealousies and enmities between us and our rivals. We have to exert ourselves, which cannot be done without efforts, in founding the kingdom of Assyria, extending our maritime resources, and constituting ourselves a martial people, as the means by which we can act for every offensive and defensive purpose necessary in all quarters of the World, independantly of continental assistance. At the same time we must renounce all expectations of France relinquishing

ciently the naval preparations and the commerce of the eastern shores of France, and Spain, and of Italy, and the Mediterranean at large.

her authority over what may be called her barrier powers, and leaving them independant, unless by our real good will and permanent friendship. Against our passions, as the worst enemies both of France and ourselves, we must be on constant guard; aware, that they are not only those temporary clouds, which darken the hemisphere, but that permanent film, which impairs the force of our sight itself. Otherwise, in making peace with France, we shall continue to consider her as an enemy, and as an inveterate foe, who will not through kind treatment and conciliation become an affectionate sister nation, and cheerfully concede to us every thing she can spare, while we in pacifying her may part only with what to keep cannot avail us, nay must prove an obstacle to our dearest interests. In fine, we have no other alternative to adopt: but there is no doubt, that a man properly imbued with these principles, and competent to apply them, would be able immediately to make a permanent and highly advantageous peace: while with principles the reverse of them he will lose for years the benefit of this peace, at the certainty of an infinite national expenditure, for ever procrastinate so desirable an event, see endless ob-

jections through the medium of his disordered vision, and never be able to effect a peace of any permanence. Yet, however great and arduous the different objects, and the whole of general welfare, may in their accomplishment appear to be, proper devotion paid to them will make them perfectly easy, as the following pages show, and, it is trusted, show to have indeed already rendered them perfectly easy: but political and legislative operations, conducted through an extensive and busy circle upon a wrong system, must always be infinitely embarrassing, tedious, and fatal.

MEASURES

AS WELL AS

M E N.

YE various orders and individuals of the several communities of the World, including the lowest as well as the highest and most sacred stations of society; but more particularly my own countrymen; to you I address myself.

Fully sensible of the illustrious characters, eminent virtues, and shining talents of many among you; and of the weight and number of the various classes, before whom I thus unsolicited present myself; it is with all humility I venture to claim your attention, not to me or to my own concerns, but to subjects of the highest importance to yourselves, to your children, to your remotest posterity. They are the cause of God, of nature, and of man. If the Creator be indeed wise and benevolent, he must have intended mankind to be prosperous and happy, and he must have placed the means of their being so within their power. But as this great end has never yet

been attained, it is obvious, that some of the means at least have hitherto been abused, perverted, or undiscerned and unknown. As far indeed as they have been ascertained, pursued, and properly applied, the state of man has been improved; but still it remains far short of what it might be made, and what it was intended to be. To point out, therefore, how it may be carried forward to that degree of perfection, which it was designed by Omnipotence to acquire, is the purpose of the present pages.

What I presume to recommend is that aggregate of the good, agreeable, and useful, which the Almighty originally created and intended for the use and service of the whole of mankind. This is indeed immense; capable of diffusing happiness and prosperity throughout the World, and infinitely more than adequate to the exigencies of the present crisis. It is an aggregate, which, duly employed by the genius and exertions of man, is capable of bringing nations to a state of practical perfection; and, properly modified and conducted, is formed, by national improvement, into a scientific system of general welfare, the nature and offices of which will hereafter be summarily described. It is actually and potentially contained in the grand system of God and nature, as this is connected with the interests of mankind, and as we are left as free agents, to explore and conduct it by human reason. A system, which the

present era has discovered*, but to which, my countrymen, you have too long neglected to pay attention, most fatally for yourselves, and for mankind at large.

Various causes have concurred, both to hinder the discovery from having been made before the present era, and to prevent it from being attended to when made. Some of these causes it is necessary to point out; as this will more readily and naturally lead you to adopt and patronise the system, and remove the obstacles, that militate against it's advancement. The principal cause has been a perverse and infatuated, and a most violent and passionate, attachment to the ruinous measures of a false and mistaken policy, that have long been pursued as the objects of vain glory; but of late, in attempts to perpetuate war and monopolize the wealth of the World, have been carried to such a height of barbarity, crime, and folly, as to prove their absolute and total inconsistency with the intentions of divine policy, and the rectitude of the human understanding. Another cause, which has strongly cooperated with the preceding, has been our universal ignorance of the genuine means of advancing and completing the prosperity and happiness of mankind; whence men have weakly and basely submitted to a highly miserable and destructive state of so-

* See the heads of the system, Appendix, No. 1.

ciety and national intercourse; and have been averse to investigate and ascertain the actual means of remedying it and substituting the opposite excellencies in it's stead: thinking these visionary and impossible, because the reverse of what the World has hitherto been. Insomuch that at length, from the cooperation of these two causes alone, we are brought into such a perilous and distressed state, aggravated with the heaviest charges against us of political guilt, and economical inability, as to render it necessary to look fairly into the subject, see the true sources of our past misconduct, and find the means of extricating us from it's consequences. The means will be found in that true system of politics and general welfare, which is as capable of rectifying public affairs, as of accomplishing the grand destiny of mankind; and in no other source whatever, as is fully proved from induction. In the mean time it is no less essential to our own welfare, than to that of mankind at large, that the charges alleged against us be neither extenuated, nor withheld from the public eye. They are too necessary to stimulate us to study the general welfare of our species and country, and to actuate the energetic powers, by which public and private prosperity and happiness are to be promoted, and finally completed; which it would be an absurdity to expect without an adequate comprehension of it's interests, the study of their principles, deep consideration,

the certainty of intuition, the happiest combinations, enlarged sentiments, true magnanimity, and correspondent deeds and efforts. To be excited in these various modes for such grand purposes, we must be as freely told of our follies, our errours, and our vices, as we have abused and perverted our reason, proved fools and enemies to ourselves, and thwarted all the benevolent intentions of our Creator. In branding our past proceedings with the opprobrious names they merit, we shall open that career of honour, which it is absolutely necessary for us to pursue in future: and no longer employ our natural and acquired advantages for our own ruin, and the destruction of others, but for all the purposes of universal good. A short essay by dean Swift, written in the utmost simplicity of style, was able to render the parliament sensible of the true interests of the nation; and induce them to abandon a war, the glory and success of which were sufficient to dazzle the eyes of most men, and were thus enticing them to their own ruin. Is it too presumptuous then to hope, that a simple exposition of our present interests, and of the means of attaining them as intended by Providence, cooperating with a due sense of our past misconduct, may induce us now to rectify the state of public affairs, and accomplish the grand destiny of mankind? When thus raised to your proper sphere of worth and perfection, I neither pretend nor wish, that

you should be pageants tricked out with the meretricious arts of affectation and pretended improvement; should disregard your private interests and fortune; or lose the sweet rewards of service, and the fruits of industry; but that you shall not be ruined, as well as vilified and debased; shall be rendered worthy of yourselves and of your Creator; and understand and pursue the means of your own prosperity and happiness, as the real good of your country may require, in which your own is necessarily involved.

Less apology is necessary on my part, as in soliciting your patronage and adoption of the system to which I allude, I do no more than support the labours of another person, whom I knew early in life at college, and of whose good intentions I never could entertain a doubt. In my judgment, however, they are labours of essential consequence to my country and mankind, and particularly at this crisis; because they consist of executive plans, and great and useful discoveries, which he has evidently been in the habit of exploring in all the various departments of general welfare; and perfectly suit the present state of the times, and of public affairs, when it is acknowledged by the highest authority in parliament, that our sufferings and danger are infinitely great at home, and there is less hope abroad for the future, or consolation for the past. Still I profess to offer only original matter to the public on this occasion.

For the subject is too copious to require me to borrow his ideas and proposals, unless as corollaries, which he has omitted to deduce; and I shall treat it therefore under the following heads: 1st, The general nature and economy of the system, and of the measures recommended by it, as well as of those pursued for a long time past, that should be wholly abandoned: 2dly, The proper practical means for carrying the system, and the measures it recommends, into effect. In conclusion I shall subjoin a few particular addresses to the most suitable personages and parties for introducing and forwarding the proposed system of general welfare. It now remains to observe, that it is absolutely necessary in the present short tract, to reduce it's contents to the smallest compass possible; but that the works referred to in the appendix will supply any deficiency, that may occur in explaining them, and in supporting them by their requisite proofs: for, if any doubts should occur, or be left unanswered, the subject is too important for me not to point out where they may be fully solved.

The system of general welfare above announced, as composing THE 1ST DIVISION of my subject, may be more particularly considered, as it is useful, agreeable, and pleasing; and in general practical and executive. It is calculated, not only in every respect, but in the highest degree in all respects, to serve and benefit mankind. It's pow-

ers for this purpose will appear wonderful, when they are examined in the works above referred to, 'Peace on Earth,' and the 'National Improvements of the British Empire.' While it is capable of procuring the highest possible aggrandizement and prosperity to nations and individuals, it is capable at the same time of supplying such solid, substantial, and refined happiness, as it is highly rational to suppose to have been intended by the Almighty for the human species, but which has too generally been imagined visionary and impracticable. The conditions however, on which man is permitted to derive these advantages from the system, are his own exertions and industry as a free agent, employed in respect of himself and the creation at large; and unquestionably both a very favourable opportunity and the proper means are liberally afforded him by Providence, for employing his industry and exertions in this manner throughout the World. Thus in the just appreciation of the system of the World,

> ——————————'the shadows fly
> From Nature's face, confusion disappears;
> And order charms the eyes, and harmony the ears.'

Such is the lot of man in this life! It's advantages must be procured by grand and strenuous exertions of thought and action, of useful industry and extensive improvement; which, however, as will be seen, are destined to be accompanied by

the high pleasures of true sensibility, a refined taste, and duly excited and well regulated passions.

Human welfare, however, is fixed, and can be established alone on the twelve grand foundations provided for it, that embrace respectively the several powers of universal good known in this life; and by completing them, and deriving from them, the means essential to the consummation of the destiny of man. These foundations are the 12 heads of the grand system of general welfare, and are: 1, Government: 2, Public Agency: 3, Politics: 4, Finance: 5, Agriculture: 6, General Industry, manual and intellectual: 7, Commerce: 8, Mental Instruction: 9, Religion: 10, Medicine: 11, Practical Jurisprudence, or the Law: and 12, Public Philanthropy, or the appropriate means of advancing individual prosperity and happiness. For it is certain from induction, that man neither knows nor can comprehend any good, or the means of effecting any good, that may not be referred to one or other of the twelve heads: and as either an omission or defect in the subordinate parts of one of these heads cannot occur without injurious consequences to the human race, so each head fully and perfectly constituted is necessary to complete the lot of mankind. The measures, that at present every where regulate and direct the concerns of society, taken in the aggregate, may actually be considered as a remote approach

to the system. They are all referrible to it's different heads, however deficient they may be found in number, or in perfection; however ill put together and unfit for an advantageous cooperation; or for whatever improper purposes they may be employed. For instance, we find all nations have recourse more or less partially and imperfectly to public agency or police, to finances, and politics; are obliged by necessity to attend in a certain degree to general industry, agriculture, and commerce; employ in some mode or other religion, law, and medicine; are all benefitted by the adoption of some form of government; must pay some attention to mental instruction; and none can totally dispense with the services of appropriate means of individual prosperity and happiness. Not one of these can be annihilated, without annihilating society, and subverting nations. Nay every particular subject of any one of the heads, in however small a degree it contributes to pleasure or advantage, must, from the extent of the human species, be desirable and applicable to many persons; and therefore of an importance, the limits of which it would be difficult to assign. In fact it is through the constituent parts of this system, that all nations have hitherto advanced themselves beyond a state of barbarity; and it is owing to their not having availed themselves of all the advantages, which they might have derived from them, that they have committed so

many crimes and follies, and suffered so many miseries and privations, as to have given them a plausible pretence for arraigning the wisdom and goodness of Providence in creating man.

Even the mere collection of the different interests of general welfare into a regular form is in various respects attended with infinite advantages. It presents to our view, and enables us to cultivate separately each of the different heads in the most exact and scientific manner: and at the same time affords the most favourable opportunity for combining and causing them to cooperate, so that we may exhaust all the services, which as a whole they are capable of furnishing. As framed with accuracy, it prevents the omission of any subject of consequence. Being comprehensive, it does not take things by bits and scraps, under different pretences, and at different times, as they occasionally press upon us, without a possibility of regarding their relations and dependencies. In fine, *a system* formed in a proper and scientific manner, according to the laws of practical improvement, as is proposed, duly notices each part, both separately and in combination, and renders the whole complete, not following the usages of statesmen, and leaving all things partial, deficient, and inadequate to their proper purposes. It places every useful or desirable object upon it's true and proper basis, leaving nothing weak; corrects itself, and supersedes the necessity of numerous and burdensome

measures of great show, but little energy; makes things clear, plain, and simple, and reduces them within their narrowest limits. It renders projects practical and executive, masterly, and superiour to any thing that can be devised in any other mode, by providing all adequate and requisite measures, and combining them, with genius and dexterity, into effectual plans, according to their different intentions; and supplies general rules for every incidental exigency, on the principles of which the soundest dependence may be placed. Thus it furnishes the means of preventing the errours of the World; and proposes to senates a certain guide for accomplishing the prosperity and happiness of nations, which they have hitherto sought in the parade and splendour of greatness and eloquence, in the labyrinths of surmise and delusion, and in the ruinous criminality and weakness of ineffectual and sanguinary measures. Thus it accustoms them to that vast exertion of thought which the complex interests of mankind require: provides whatever meliorative powers are wanted: and no longer permits the interests of mankind to remain fortuitous and arbitrary; hollow and deceitful, while gaudy and ostentatious; and a prey to impotence, negligence, despair, and guilt.

The system is indeed peculiarly practical and executive, insomuch as to be altogether adapted and adequate to the accomplishment of it's final purpose of national perfection. For in fact it

wholly consists in practical measures, except as knowledge is useful and essential to these in a great degree: and thus absolutely differs from the literary and oratorical productions of the age, which are speculative and persuasive, and bear not at all, or not as they ought, upon the actual means of accomplishing the different purposes of universal good. Even Dr. Smith's great work on the wealth of nations will be found a mere speculative production, when it is compared with the National Improvements of the British Empire. The system is in fact a reservoir of the active principles and means of general welfare; and shows how to employ them to the greatest certainty and advantage, especially in devising plans, and forming discoveries and inventions. In particular, it directs man to every species of improvement; and it urges him with the strongest incentives to accomplish the purposes of his destiny, by providing him with the most suitable and active principles; with the greatest heroism and magnanimity, with highly benign and meliorative dispositions and energies, and with the most powerful and effective passions. At the same time it gives both strength and existence to society, and enables it to supply the weakness of the individual by the greater knowledge and capital of numbers united, and the combined efforts of their industry. It advances still higher in these respects: and, as will be elucidated hereafter, can enable executive

government, through the medium of public agency, to execute the most arduous and extensive national improvements essential to national perfection.

Having dwelt at some length upon the nature of the system in general, and the advantages of it, and the extraordinary efficacy of it's practical powers; it may be naturally expected, that an apology should be offered for introducing thus at large an abstract subject, and that the consideration of it should be no farther extended. These expectations, however, cannot be gratified. What has been already observed upon the system shows it's wonderful construction, and it's infinite energies, as being altogether adequate to the establishment of national perfection; and fully justifies the protraction of the subject to whatever extent may be thought requisite, in order to evince the necessity of adopting it. The system contains not only the practical philosophy that relates to general welfare, but is that grand philosophy which constitutes the great amount of human happiness; and, the elements of the physical sciences contained in it, which belong to their respective professors, being omitted, the whole is a study, that is highly pleasing, should not be abbreviated, is essential to every well educated person, and cannot be too general. Above all, it ought to be the anxious study of the senator, who should substitute it in the place of precedents, the routine of office, matters of trifling consequence, and, comparatively speak-

ing, a grain or two of important knowledge, magnified and amplified into an appearance of huge dimensions by pomp and prolixity of description. It is certainly not sufficient, that he is capable of overwhelming every valuable proposal, as is too frequently the case, by objections, the strength of which rests merely on terms and the powers of language, sometimes on the reporter, and not on real solid foundations; because he will thus in the end overturn both his country, and the present system. It is indeed important to make the senator a philosopher in general welfare: and he may readily be such, and at the same time a proficient at Newmarket and White's, if to be a philosopher in general welfare be a character as easily attainable, as it will be shown to be in this work. There is a particular grand feature of the system, which it is necessary fully to delineate. This feature, highly important in itself, has hitherto been ill understood by man: yet united with the powers and means already mentioned, it is calculated, as a powerful inducement, to ensure the institution of national perfection; and will therefore no longer permit us to look upon this perfection as a utopian and romantic speculation. It is no other than that astonishing profusion of happiness, which the Almighty has attached to the real means and act of introducing, constituting, and practicing national perfection, whether as a whole or in it's component parts. A celebrated poet has called

this profusion of happiness, I may say impiously called it, the Pleasures of Imagination, conforming his title to the civil and political ignorance of the times. But they are, and should have been called the Pleasures of Creation, as it's views are directed to realise national perfection. These pleasures are all the natural attendants of the practical completion and perfection of general welfare: and his poem is, in this sense, the mere transcript of them, and has indeed been incapable of enlarging itself in this point by invention. I may therefore be permitted to discuss freely, though partially, the subject of happiness: and in thus rendering justice to the system of general welfare, as nature or rather God reveals it in his works, and in creation itself, a proper counterpart only will be prepared, as in the publication entitled Peace on Earth this system is shown to be divine, and revealed by the word of God.

That the system of general welfare, intended by Providence for the use and service of man, contains the proper constituent means of his happiness, as well as of whatever is useful and conducive to his prosperity, was the settled opinion of the wisest philosophers of Greece. They even designated the means of happiness under the appellation of the beautiful. This term however it would be wrong to employ in speaking of the present important system, because in it's common acceptation it is applicable only to a single species of the charms

of nature. By their sagacity, and penetration into the views and economy of the divine creation, those philosophers saw, that means of both happiness and utility were actually to be employed for effecting and completing the general welfare of mankind; and were equally true, certain, and well founded in nature. Thus beauty or happiness, and active use, as the poet observes, are inseparable comates.

—— Then tell me, for ye know,
Does Beauty ever deign to dwell where Health
And active Use are strangers? Is her charm
Confess'd in aught, whose most peculiar ends
Are lame and fruitless? Or did Nature mean
This pleasing call the herald of a lie;
To hide the shame of Discord and Disease,
And catch with fair hypocrisy the heart
Of idle Faith? O no! with better cares
Th' indulgent mother, conscious how infirm
Her offspring tread the paths of good and ill,
By this illustrious image in each kind,
Still most illustrious where the object holds
It's native powers most perfect, she by this
Illumes the headstrong impulse of Desire,
And sanctifies his choice. The gen'rous glebe,
Whose bosom smiles with verdure, the clear tract
Of streams delicious to the thirsty soul,
The bloom of nectar'd fruitage ripe to sense,
And ev'ry charm of animated things,
Are only pledges of a state sincere,
Th' integrity and order of their frame,
When all is well within, and every end
Accomplished. Thus was Beauty sent from Heav'n,

The lovely ministress of Truth and Good
In this dark World: for Truth and Good are one,
And BEAUTY dwells in them, and they in her,
With like participation*."

The Almighty has provided for the happiness of man in the most liberal manner, in different resources. The principal of these are the charms of nature; the paternal care and providence of government; the operations of the mind; and our own active exertions: and they all contribute to advance different improvements, which lead to national perfection, or sooth and recompense human labour, while it is thus employed. The charms of nature powerfully connect us with creation at large, different important purposes of which, it is well known, human exertions are necessary to fulfill and carry into effect: and we certainly meet with infinitely more than adequate returns

* The above and subsequent quotations at large, as well as some particular expressions not noticed employed in the text, need no apology, as they are extracted from a work of great poetical genius. The work itself is wholly appropriated to consider that great system, the consideration of which is the proper subject of the first division of the present pamphlet: and it's language, however happy, is no more than justly commensurate to the system of a God, whose conceptions expressed in his works and intentions, being wonderfully sublime and beautiful, and always arranged according to system, must necessarily be such as the highest species of poetry alone can describe with justice.

in the pleasurable impressions of taste and sentiment, which different objects of nature and works of art present to us; or in the more corporeal enjoyments we derive from them, our own labours procuring us these, or the means by which they are acquired. We shall not ask whether nature have contributed her share toward human happiness, if we read the following lines:

—— "Wherefore then her form
So exquisitely fair? Her breath perfumed
With such ethereal sweetness? Whence her voice
Inform'd at will to raise or to depress
Th' impassion'd soul? And whence the robes of light,
Which thus invest her with more lovely pomp,
Than fancy can describe? Whence but from thee,
O source divine of ever-flowing love,
And thy unmeasur'd goodness? Not content
With ev'ry food of life to nourish man,
By kind illusions of the wond'ring sense
Thou mak'st all nature beauty to his eye,
Or music to his ear."

In the various and important concerns of society, which a wise, well informed, and benevolent sovereign superintends, an abundant provision for human happiness is supplied, through the proper arts of practical improvement. Man therefore in society ought to possess, in due abundance and of sufficient excellence, all the different objects of gratification and pleasure, that are essential to happiness, if his own means and industry be competent to purchase them: but it is his duty not to abuse them,

and to accommodate his desires to his station; and his interest, to preserve a proper relish for the simple but delightful objects of nature. The Creator has instituted civil government to answer these purposes: and his intentions are in general marred solely by perfidious, selfish, ignorant, or unprincipled statesmen. Even peace might be permanent, as will be hereafter pointed out, if it were not constantly interrupted by them: and there is no actual occasion for those sanguinary and incessant wars, that exhaust the wealth of British industry. They tend not merely to deprive us of the blessings of light, of the gratification of wine, of our natural exercise in the fields and on horseback, but of all the commodities of life; as well as of that generous provision made for us by nature of those necessaries and employments, which as useful, and pleasurable, nay rationally luxurious, are within the reach of the well conducted and active energies of labour to procure. Practical improvement, as it might prevent these privations, is scouted in every department, though it's meliorative powers ought to be cherished and befriended by the state, if it were only because by it's means every provision of universal good, nay health itself*, can be infinitely farther extended,

* The cultivation of medicine has a right to call upon the legislature for aid in a country, wherein it is not honoured with a college for the purpose. Great services may certainly be derived from it, in addition to those already received: as may be

and enjoyed in much greater perfection, under public calamity.

Independently of the charms of nature, the means of happiness are in a wonderful manner provided in the mind of every individual. Perception can by it's due exercise be readily improved in all, so as to form the power which is called taste: and we see in consequence of the earliest exercise of this faculty, the young child acquiring every possible elegance of action, and the habits of grace. On one hand it thus gives exquisite sensibility to the heart; and leaves it capable of being duly affected by those variously diversified, powerful, and transporting, but correct and modified, sensations of the passions, which we call emotions. On the other, it furnishes us with numerous pleasing ideal stores adequate to awaken the emotions, and which the memory is always busy in revising, and the imagination in forming or combining. Nay, at length we know, that the proper regulations, and means of conducting these operations of the mind, which excite the feelings of taste, can be reduced to a fixed plan, comprised within such narrow limits, and subjected

illustrated by observing, that as yet it is unknown, to what extent disease depends on the spasmodic irritability of the vascular system, independently of the nervous system, whether the former of these be generally or topically affected; how far the return and attack of disorder may be prevented; and how far bark is useful in old age.

so to rule, as to enable man in all ranks of life to regulate his fancy and genius by it's means, and procure himself an inexhaustible source of pleasure and happiness, and diffusive gratification, through his different connexions and interests. The plan or project for the purpose, so far as it's place is not supplied by nature, whose attention to cultivate the powers of genius and taste is often extraordinary, may be seen under 12 heads in the Appendix, No. 3. But we derive happiness materially from all the parts of the mind. Our intellectual and moral pleasures are numerous and exquisite: and the various engagements in which we are occupied, and our executive and passionate powers happily combined, are highly productive of permanent gratification. Taste itself principally depends upon the just excitement of the numerous emotions of the passions; and a very valuable species of human happiness, if not of all the most estimable, consists in the mind's being cultivated and improved, imbued with it's genuine feelings and emotions, and employed in a sufficient diversity of pleasing sentiments and reflections.

> " Mind, Mind alone, (bear witness Earth and Heav'n,)
> The living fountains in itself contains
> Of beauteous and sublime: here hand in hand,
> Sit paramount the Graces; here enthron'd,
> Celestial Venus, with divinest airs,
> Invites the soul to never fading joy.

Look then abroad through Nature, to the range
Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres
Wheeling unshaken through the void immense;
And speak, O Man! does this capacious scene
With half that kindling majesty dilate
Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose
Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,
Amid the crowd of patriots; and, his arm
Aloft extending, like eternal Jove
When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
On Tully's name, and shook his crimson'd steel,
And bade the father of his country hail!
For lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust,
And Rome again is free! Is aught so fair
In all the dewy landscapes of the spring,
In the bright eye of Hesper or the morn,
In nature's fairest forms, is aught so fair
As virtuous friendship? As the candid blush
Of him, who strives with fortune to be just?
The graceful tear, that streams for others' woes?
Or the mild majesty of private life,
Where Peace with ever-blooming olive crowns
The gate; where Honour's lib'ral hands effuse
Unenvied treasures, and the snowy wings
Of Innocence and Love protect the scene?"

It is next proposed to attend to the mind in general, as the knowledge of it, and the resources that may be drawn from it, are applicable in a high degree to constitute human happiness, but are at the same time intended to forward all the various interests of general welfare and national perfection. The discovery of the anatomy of the

mind*, as it is exhibited in the work entitled 'Peace on Earth,' may be considered as of the

* In this discovery I conceive the mind to be justly drawn in the whole of it's different parts, through their several ramifications and contrarieties, that is, in it's numerous excellencies, sublunary pravities, similar, opposite, and diversified powers, and extensive capacities; all it's phenomena being, like those of matter, collected, determined, and fixed upon the principles of philosophy laid down by lord Bacon. Thus a subject, hitherto in appearance intricate and incomprehensible, is at length exhibited as a complete whole; appears in it's proper ease and simplicity, as well as peculiar powers and energies; and is at the same time explained by terms appropriate, yet common, happily selected, and beautifully illustrative. Previous to this, every thing respecting the mind was settled in the most arbitrary manner: and even men of eminence considered the mind as nothing more than the faculty of perception accompanied with the retention of ideas, and thought as no other than a fluid or air secreted from the brain during sleep. Now mental knowledge is as susceptible of the exercise of philosophy as the labours of Newton; and the ascertainment, by it's means, of perceptive organization, of sensitive organization, and of the mixture of spirits, are as strict and just interpretations of highly important metaphysical facts, as the term attraction is of one of the most important qualities of matter. Nay, the meaning of the term philosopher, properly speaking, is no other than that of a man, who has the perfect use of the parts of his mind, he both duly exercising and duly controlling them; and who possesses such useful knowledge as suits his station in life, which however can readily be dispensed throughout society. The discovery of the anatomy of the mind is singularly well calculated to teach such use of the parts of the mind to all stations; therefore to make all men philosophers, qualified to concur in establishing national perfection.

highest importance to the establishment of national perfection. It brings us acquainted with the several parts of the mind, and enables us to cultivate them separately, as well as the whole together, so as to qualify man in the most desirable manner to execute according to his station the different views of the grand system of general welfare proposed in that work. At the same time it brings us acquainted with numerous facts of essential consequence to the system, and the completion of the perfection of nations. Thus it imparts to us the knowledge of the means of prosecuting important discoveries and inventions; of the natural meliorative powers of man, and the principles by which he may derive the greatest advantage from them; of the manner of availing ourselves of our great executive powers and energies, so as on the most extensive scale to accomplish those extraordinary services and performances that now appear hardly possible; and in particular of guarding ourselves effectually against all the powerful, fallacious arts, by which the passions impose upon our judgments, that is, the arts of passionate deception, as explained in Appendix No. 2, which as fatally mislead statesmen and senates as the humblest of individuals. It proves to us, that man was destined, by the right conduct of his intellectual faculties, to act in the highest sphere of human efforts, with wisdom and certainty, on the most sure and solid foundations;

and in the due and early cultivation of his different mental powers, to act in like manner with real virtue, especially if we do not ignorantly expect morality to be produced by the forcible suppression of vice, when this has become habitual. What however is highly important to the grand cause of general welfare, it evinces, that man is naturally in fact a benevolent being, "made to behold and love what his eternal Maker beholds and loves, the general orb of life and being;" and to adapt to it his meliorative and executive energies, which thus become proportionate to the object of national perfection. Thus man has been created as a peculiar instrument to discharge the offices of humanity and improvement in this world; and to combine their operations in the grand system of universal good.

But, in order to ensure and expedite the performance of whatever is grand and useful, and effectually to advance the extraordinary deeds and efforts necessary for accomplishing the extensive views of creation, and of the general welfare of all people; a high degree of attachment and zeal, which produce a peculiar and exquisite pleasure and gratification, and in the result permanent and solid happiness, accompany the actions and operations necessary to execute and complete them. Add to this, arduous and grand objects, that are highly important or useful, often possess such qualities, as are capable of exciting those sublime,

pleasing, or pathetic passions, that lead the mind captive, and impel it to those extraordinary exertions, that yield the highest gratification. Nay, the mind itself has wonderful powers adapted to the reception of such impressions, as incite it to proceed forward, unwearied and undismayed, with the greatest enterprises, though accompanied with the most protracted and complicated series of exertion, of toil and trouble, and even of the highest distress and danger.

" Say why was man so eminently rais'd
Amid the vast creation; why ordain'd
Through life and death to dart his piercing eye,
With thoughts beyond the limit of his frame;
But that th' Omnipotent might send him forth
In sight of mortal and immortal pow'rs,
As on a boundless theatre, to run
The great career of justice; to exalt
His gen'rous aim to all diviner deeds;
To chase each partial purpose from his breast;
And through the mists of passion and of sense,
And through the tossing tide of chance and pain,
To hold his course unfalt'ring, while the voice
Of Truth and Virtue, up the steep ascent
Of nature, calls him to his high reward,
Th' applauding smile of Heav'n? Else wherefore burns
In mortal bosoms this unquenched hope,
That breathes from day to day sublimer things,
And mocks possession? Wherefore darts the mind,
With such resistless ardour to embrace
Majestic forms; impatient to be free,
Spurning the gross control of wilful Might;

Proud of the strong contention of her toils;
Proud to be daring?"
—— "The high born soul
Disdains to rest her Heav'n aspiring wing
Beneath it's native quarry."
—— "These her hopes
Rest at the fated goal. For from the birth
Of mortal man, the sov'reign Maker said,
That not in humble, nor in brief delight,
Not in the fading echoes of Renown,
Pow'r's purple robes, or Pleasure's flow'ry lap,
The soul should find enjoyment: but from these
Turning disdainful to an equal good,
Through all th' ascent of things enlarge her view,
Till ev'ry bound at length should disappear,
And infinite perfection close the scene."

In this manner an extensive and highly important department of the economy of Providence is wonderfully administered on a simple scale; all the views of general welfare, however arduous, can be carried to their highest perfection: and man, consistently with his happiness, is rendered executive in the most eminent degree,

———————— "firm
Against the torrent and the stubborn hill
To urge bold Virtue's unremitted nerve,
And wake the strong divinity of soul,
That conquers Chance and Fate."

Thus even the exertion of labour necessary to procure subsistence, is attended with a high gratification; and parents in the lowest situations,

whose hands procure support for their children, find animation and happiness in their toil, independantly of the love they bear their offspring. The ambitious mind sees herself with delight in "the powers of genius and design," and by these triumphantly frames "the sacred laws of action and of will." But if she exalt herself, and assume the post of the Eternal Majesty that weighed the World's foundations, and exalt her daring eye to the grand objects of universal good and general welfare, then she endeavours to be great, beneficent, and active, like her Creator: and becoming familiar with his conceptions, "acts upon his plans, and moulds to his the relish of her soul." Would the forms of servile custom then cramp her generous powers; would schemes of a sordid policy, the barbarous growth of ignorance and rapine, bow her down to tame pursuits, to indolence and fear? she knows, on the grounds of what has been asserted * in 'The National Improvements of

* "Postulate 2. That the system, and inclusively all it's different essential parts; provided they can be carried into effect, and are in no way injurious to the constitution, to religion, or to morality; have a right, founded in their inappreciable value and importance, to be considered as placed beyond the sphere of objections, as these may preclude their adoption: for their advantages will in this case be so great as to supersede all objections, and enable every requisite compensation to be made for any injury they may cause. Indeed otherwise the objections urged in opposition to them would be infinite in num-

the British Empire,' that there is no real objection to the grand system of general welfare and national perfection; and she appeals to the elements of nature as proofs, that her Creator has ordained her to contend against every difficulty opposed to the progress of her destiny, and surmount the most outrageous obstacles that may interfere with her grand pursuits.

In like manner, and with the same views of advancing general welfare and national perfection, the mind is so constituted as to find an extraordinary interest in useful objects of a serious and tranquil nature; in acquisitions of knowledge and science; in the illustration of important subjects by novel truths; in virtuous principles, and the highest moral duties; and in the discovery

——" Of Wisdom's artful aim,
Disposing every part, and gaining still,
By means proportion'd, her benignant end."

When the mind has thus, in various modes, acquired a just comprehension of the universal order of things, and improved her perceptive powers in a due degree, the works of Nature and the World at large are found to display infinitely greater charms; and to be calculated to afford the highest degree of pleasure and happiness to man, while he

ber, and engross the whole attention of mankind." See National Improvements of the British Empire, Vol. I, p. 211.

pursues those duties conducive to the general weal, which he owes both to himself and to his species, and attends to the accomplishment of the purpose for which he was created, and the perfection of nations. Notwithstanding these sublimer views, from which the inferiour ranks are by no means excluded; nature, society, occupation, various articles of enjoyment, in fine, the invaluable services of the perfect system of human welfare intended by God, and the condition of humanity itself, make due provision for the general happiness, and sufficiently favour the cultivation of taste in the lower orders. Nay, objects of taste are universally abundant, and with few exceptions a common property, which wealth and power are unable to engross; and man may in all stations be happy in the cultivation of sensibility, in the due exercise and regulation of his passions, in the employment of his active powers, and the acquisitions these can procure, when the concerns of society are properly understood and faithfully administered. But pursuing higher views, "the attentive mind" by the infinitely various and extensive harmonious operations of creation, and it's subordinate parts on her powers, becomes herself harmonious: "her temper'd powers refine, and every passion wears a chaster, milder, more attractive mien:" and wont so oft in outward things to meditate the charms of sacred order, soon she seeks to find at home a kindred order, competent to effect the prosperity and hap-

piness of the Universe, free from all the dangers of mistaken ambition.

Having adverted at sufficient length to the subject of human happiness, I will proceed to some other observations, that appear necessary to give an adequate explanation of the system. That the Almighty has intended the human species to discover, put together, and employ such a system, for it's own benefit and happiness, and for the purposes which it is to accomplish throughout creation at large; is obvious from other considerations distinct from the preceding. It is proper in the first place to observe, that there are no grounds, either in reason, or in revelation, to expect a preternatural communication of the true system of general welfare. Revelation certainly does not inform us, that the kingdom of God, which it promises, and which in fact can be nothing but the realising of this true system, will be established by divine power. Admitting this, which is an incontrovertible truth, it must also be admitted, from induction and self-evidence, that the system, as described, is indispensable to human welfare; that it is perfectly accommodated to all the purposes of our creation; that it is so wonderful a system, as to have been incapable of being produced by man, had not the means been prepared beforehand by the Almighty for human genius to explore, improve, combine, and actuate as a whole; that there is a natural disposition, or instinct, to form it, in man, who in all ages and

in all nations has made a certain progress toward it, and carried many branches of it to such a degree of improvement, as to show the perfectibility of the whole; that, so far as he has made such progress, it has always invariably tended to the same objects, and thus proves itself to be the same system, as that consisting of twelve principal or constituent parts, a summary of which is given in the Appendix No. 1; and that we are able to carry it to perfection, as the works mentioned in the Appendix No. 4 sufficiently show. These facts clearly prove it is incumbent on the human species to put themselves under the direction of such a system, and to do all in their power to accomplish it's different purposes. This manifestly is the intention of the Almighty. Man is destined beyond a question, and it is the whole of what is required of him, to perform all the great offices and functions which the system points out: and having no other means to employ than it's instrumentality, he is destined therefore to employ it by Him, who has qualified all other beings in their instincts for the actual completion of the views of their formation; and who certainly would not leave man unprovided with definite means, commensurate to the importance of his station in the Universe, and to the performance of it's appropriate grand offices and functions. The inference is still stronger, because without the system man cannot acquire the knowledge and power of advancing and improving him-

self and the World he inhabits, conformably to their destiny: the defective, retrograde, and vitiated state of creation cannot be counteracted and amended: and man himself, endowed as he is with all the principles of taste, of humanity, of honour and honesty, of activity, wisdom, and true policy, must otherwise ever remain brutal, cruel, and inhuman, false, perfidious, and unjust, and so weak, irrational, and impolitic, as to be perpetually involved in a state of complete folly, extreme guilt, and actual war. On the other hand there is a capacity throughout creation, which admits the application of the several operations of the different parts and of the whole of the system, so as to enable it to produce the height of sublunary perfection in all things: and all things to discharge their several offices and functions, so far as they depend upon it's influence. It may therefore be finally concluded, that, as there are in nature an animal, a vegetable, and a mineral system, so there is a human system, which is equally perfect, equally divine.

Thus the practicability of a state of national perfection, and of a system destined to constitute it, and consummate public and private prosperity and happiness, is ascertained from the most comprehensive views, and the soundest principles of rational inquiry and self-evidence. The principal cause of their not having been carried into effect may in fact be ascribed to the great philosophers of

Greece. Among these the name of Socrates is most conspicuous, who first perceived the beauties and wonderful construction of the system. They could not be expected to ascertain with accuracy it's extensive orbit: to mark all it's various objects and different powers; and to combine them into a practical whole: but they cultivated different parts of it, conformably to the rules of national perfection, so as to form the principal part of modern civilization. Since their times the World has not been ambitious of aspiring at any thing higher, but has chosen to imitate their literary and military glories, and provide the sinews of war, in order to perpetuate it's concomitant horrours, rather than to complete the universal scheme of national perfection.

The system however is now found to stand on very different, on much higher foundations. Dr. Edwards, in his work, 'Peace on Earth,' has discovered, that the system and our revealed religion are so far intimately connected, and thoroughly agree to such an extent, as to prove they have the same object in view; or that national perfection as intended by the system, and the kingdom of God as announced by divine revelation, are one and the same.

For particulars the reader must be referred to the work itself. Here it will be sufficient to observe, that it proves from Scripture, the kingdom of God on earth is no other than national perfection; em-

braces the highest possible destination of the human species, including the universal peace, prosperity, and happiness of the World; and is of a sublunary or mundane nature, though of a divine quality, constituting the most effective strength of nations, in a scrupulous attention to good works combined with the economical doctrines of the Old Testament: that a perfect and practical system of general welfare is the means of establishing this kingdom of God, and corresponds with the most important and principal Scripture prophecies, as these refer to the modes of establishing the kingdom: that man in this life is in a state of probation, and destined to acquire merit with God by the improvement and perfecting of various works of creation, his own species included, which was made and is left imperfect on this account; and is thus commanded to introduce the kingdom or national perfection, receiving however, as his lot in this life, earthly prosperity and happiness: that the introduction of these is to be accompanied with the restoration and improvement of what is called the ancient world, comprehending Asia Minor and Egypt, with other countries, as the most effectual means of diffusing civilization through the extensive adjoining countries: and that Great Britain is enjoined to take a principal part in the establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth, and in particular to found the kingdom of Assyria in Asia Minor, and to undertake this work at

the present period; and can by no other means have sincere and permanent peace with France.

What the Scripture prophecies enjoin and point out in the clearest manner in respect of the civilization of the ancient World is; that Great Britain should establish a new kingdom in Asia Minor, under the name of Assyria, situate between the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean, including the city of Bassorah; that Palestine should be restored to the Jews; and that the French should possess Egypt. The worldly or state policy of these several measures is evinced in the fullest manner in the works mentioned in the appendix, where it is shown, that these measures would effect a permanent peace between the two nations of Great Britain and France, between which countries, friendship and harmony, so much to be desired, are intended to be their result; that they would rapidly advance the completion of the kingdom of God on Earth, as the countries they refer to are central points, highly favourable for the extension of improvement, so that their establishment in the manner mentioned would be of much greater consequence to mankind, than the discovery of a new continent: and that the kingdom of Assyria would be the most valuable safeguard to our dominions in Indostan. In this point of view it is now become absolutely necessary, in conjunction with permanent peace between us and the French, from the late increase of the power and influence of France on the con-

tinent; an event which will direct the future views and attention of Austria, Russia, Turkey, and France, toward the east and the heart of Asia, consequently against our Asiatic territories.

Before concluding the present inquiry, it is requisite to show in a concise manner in what the kingdom of God and national perfection, as they are the same, consist. The following extract from the work 'Peace on Earth' will be found sufficient for this purpose, as it gives a summary description, which is alike applicable to both. National perfection, or the kingdom of God on Earth, "Consists in removing or preventing all evil, injury, distress, or misery foreign to human nature, or which it is possible, or it is both permitted and ordained to remove: in procuring for ourselves and others, and for all nations, whatever prosperity and happiness it is consistent with our duty to procure them; and in making whatever improvements and amendments are salutary and serviceable, so as to forward and finally accomplish the culture, industry, and population of the different parts of the World, and give the whole such abundance, wealth, quality, and variety of productions, as may supply the various infinite advantages, with which the World was created and intended to furnish mankind: in perfectly understanding and administering all the different departments and relations of general welfare, economical, political, civil, natural, mental, moral, religious, revealed, or what-

ever they may be: in thus multiplying good with the most frequent, numerous, and earnest efforts, constituting national perfection according to the power and capacity of nature, by collecting the things able to form it, and consummating the several advantages and interests of the World with all possible beneficence and melioration: in making a proper use of the dignity of human nature, of it's high sense of excellence and virtue, and of it's capacity for attaining earthly perfection, which the Almighty has given it by a mind competent to the destination of mankind, and a genius commensurate to the direction and perfection of the World; in therefore displaying the several powers and performances of the arts, sciences, and works of taste and embellishment, providing in abundance all the matured fruits of useful knowledge, eradicating ignorance, barbarism, savageness, brutality and war; and particularly in exhibiting the splendours and purities of great and virtuous actions, such as elevate humanity, and render general and essential services to our country, to mankind, and to distant ages: in the due enjoyment of happiness and pleasure, as these are rational, and as creation offers them, unvitiated by gloom or austerity: and in obeying the Divine will, and respecting, worshipping, and glorifying the Father of all things. In scriptural language, and according to the holy prophet Daniel, it is a state or kingdom founded on a system, and on knowledge, which ages have

been destined to explore; which experience or the ancient of days has matured, and introduces and administers in conjunction with the Son of God, conformably to the high principles of Christian benevolence; which the friends of man execute or effect with sanctity and holiness, and support for ever; which will suppress all evils and sources of evil, the consequences of a false system of general welfare; which shall fill the whole Earth, and shall stand for ever; and to which all nations will pay obedience. According to the holy prophet Isaiah, it is a state or kingdom which will fill the Earth with knowledge, as the waters cover the sea, be founded on the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, and the fear of the Lord; and thus consummate all the political and economical views of the Universe: which will be candid and merciful, support the weak and lowly, the virtuous and innocent, and protect them from wrong and oppression, banish from the World injustice, remove all malignity, savageness, brutality, and fury, and establish love, harmony, and peace in their stead: which will collect and settle the Jews in their native country, render them prosperous and happy, and a commercial people; and at the same time give two European powers possession of Assyria and Egypt, who will hereafter live in peace and amity, though Egypt will not possess the commerce of the eastern parts of Asia. According to the holy prophet Jeremiah, it is a

state or kingdom which shall make mankind joyful and happy: which shall plant vines upon the mountains, that the planters shall eat as common things; which will cause it's people to walk in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble: which will satisfy or satiate them with it's goodness, and water their souls, as a garden, so that they no longer shall be a prey to sorrow and misfortune; and which will be welcomed by the gentiles from the ends of the earth. According to the holy prophet St. John, it is a state or kingdom which will renovate all things with fresh life and vigour; which will produce a new earth, as it will cause to pass away all the shocking horrours and excesses of a false system of general welfare, and place before mankind, as it were, a new Heaven, the proper object of their future solicitude and pursuit; which will produce a pure river of water of life, clear as chrystal, and making to flourish trees of life, the leaves whereof shall be the healing of the nations, and their fruits shall be of twelve kinds, be renewed every month, and replenish them with prosperity and happiness, constituting their real welfare and earthly beatitude; which will wipe away all tears from the eyes of it's people, and will prevent death, sorrow, crying, and pain, unless so far as they are unavoidable by humanity, or so far as they cannot be removed by beneficence and improvement: and which will cause the Almighty and his Son to be acknowledged throughout the Universe, before

whom the kings of the Earth shall bring the glory and honour of the nations, and in future be directed by the light of the Lamb."

A sufficient explanation has now been given of a subject of the highest importance to the World; of a system which is adequate to produce and constitute national perfection, and complete the interests of the public and private prosperity and happiness of all mankind. But the system is in a different respect highly important, as it will both supply the great deficiencies, and remedy the immense abuses, of that system of measures, which has hitherto been substituted in it's stead, and has in the preceding extract been called the false system of general welfare. Those deficiencies and abuses, when they are fully known, must powerfully recommend that system, which will remove and remedy them. It will therefore be proper to make some particular observations upon these deficiencies, and upon these abuses separately, in order to show the fatal consequences both of an inadequate and of a corrupt system of general welfare, or of such measures systematically pursued in the administration of national affairs.

In particular, such a false system, independent of abuse, is partial, mutilated, rude, and imperfect in all respects, when we consider the measures of which it is composed, their paucity, the manner in which they are conducted, and the steps taken to advance the improvement of them; and

is wholly inadequate to the infinitely numerous purposes of universal good, and to the accomplishment of the grand object of national perfection. It aspires neither to the knowledge of the various subjects which are intrusted to it's direction; nor to understand the means of carrying them into effect with advantage: and, so far from having been regularly formed, and enlarged in proportion to it's importance, is the work of chance itself, and must appear to great statesmen as well as philosophers altogether an incomprehensible chaos. We ourselves do not pretend or endeavour even to investigate it, and it receives not that attention, which deserves the name of study and cultivation: and while thus we can neither speculate upon it, nor practice it, in that intelligent and scientific manner, which itself as a whole, and it's constituent parts singly require; while we do not even exercise our common sense upon it; it cannot be supposed, that we intentionally make, or that we are capable of making any improvements in respect of a system of general welfare. But if we thus cannot possibly become proficients in the proper methods of advancing it, we certainly have contracted a rooted prejudice and aversion against it's improvement; we hide our ignorance and deficiency in it by eloquence, pride, falsehood, and the suggestions of crime and hypocrisy: and a bungling fidler may claim far more merit in endeavouring

to acquire a little skill in music, than the greatest ministers of state have had in my time in improving the system of general welfare. The subject likewise engaging the passions of statesmen, and leading them to criminal measures, in order to palliate and correct the errours of a mistaken policy, renders their abilities still weaker, as it produces both passionate deception, that fatal calamity to which all men are prone, and dishonesty itself, which is often a cause, as well as an accompaniment, of mental incapacity in respect of rectitude of measures. In this manner it is impossible, that great talents should be produced, for understanding and conducting the interest of society and nations at large: and the extremes of economical imbecility and national weakness are unavoidable, when the services of enlightened knowledge, practical talents, and comprehensive views are excluded from the extensive sphere of general welfare.

Hence legislation consists in regulations and prohibitions; in temporary accommodations to incidental exigencies; in the exercise of the brutal force of war substituted for true policy; and in the financial exhaustion and oppression of the industrious subject, from our ignorance of the practical means of increasing national and individual affluence. Precedents and the forms of office constitute the main system, which is followed and adopted by government. They how-

ever suppose an actual ignorance of general welfare, and exclude all ideas of science and improvement. Consequently they can be of no avail in redressing or advancing the interests of public and private prosperity and happiness: and are incompetent to meet those great emergencies, and unusual occurrences, incidental to nations, which have now for a long period never ceased to present themselves in this country. They wholly exclude the formation of such a grand system of general welfare as is now recommended: and, whenever new scenes are opened, they arrest the understanding, and hinder it from attending to the plainest truths, and the most obvious means of advancing human prosperity and happiness. Persons conversant in office are seldom "minds of remarkable enlargement:" are not that superiour class of men, who should preside over the momentous concerns of empires: and in corrupt states suppress that sensibility and sentiment, which should encourage the man of original talents who is to supply their deficiencies. They have long been the principal directors of public affairs: and, so poor is their capacity, that war is the favourite expedient, to which they have recourse in all cases of urgency. The employment of the precedents and forms of office, it must however be admitted, is less objectionable, because great men of real talents have not hitherto studied general welfare as a science and system, and taken liberal

and comprehensive views of it's different objects and principles: and certainly neither the forms and routine of office, nor the large field of precedents, are without considerable claims to merit in their proper departments.

Having now considered the deficiencies of the false system of general welfare, as they constitute the extreme of what may be called economical imbecility; it is proper to advert to the abuses of this system, as they produce a still more prejudicial state of political criminality; and to point out some of the principal sources from which this criminality takes it's rise. One of these sources is that predatory disposition, which impels nations to seize the possessions, property, and riches of one another, either by open war, or by fraudulent commerce; and may be referred to their ignorance, as well as to their avarice and ambition. I say to their ignorance, for, possessing capital, population, and science, or useful knowledge, it is much more the interest of each nation to complete, by means of these, it's internal and colonial improvements, than to prey upon others; and it is for it's real advantage to permit other nations to become rich, in order to be valuable customers. The only true policy is, to allow the golden eggs to remain and multiply in their respective matrices; not by ripping these open, to desolate and impoverish the World. Another source is a certain modification of the pre-

ceding. This is a policy, which leads nations to acquire riches from others by an exclusive monopoly of foreign commerce and aggrandizement, in order to carry on war; and which, on the other hand, prosecuting war for the purpose of supporting these views, expends far more riches, and destroys infinitely greater resources of internal prosperity, than they can possibly acquire by such a commercial phrensy. This species of political immorality is accompanied by a restless and giddy inquietude of mind, and violence of passionate deception, which lead us to sanction every favourite scheme, indulge all our prejudices, suppose the balance of power always in danger, and make a plaything of war; while we give the worst measures the appellation of lawful sources of wealth, the true objects of British enterprise, fair grounds of ministerial fame, the proper means for satisfying the calls of corruption, and innocent resources for supplying curiosity with news. Wars that ensue from this species of immorality being of longer duration, and at last becoming perpetual, are the worst wars to mankind. Statesmen, or their proxies, may prate more in vindication of them, than of those of rank avarice and ambition: but as, in the fable of the Cat and the Cock, the former was determined to make his breakfast upon the latter, notwithstanding any excuse he could advance for his alleged misdemeanours, so their betters go to war

upon the strength of their appetites, and not the reason and justice of their measures.

Different sources of political criminality, that are as highly injurious to society by preventing and not forwarding improvement, as others are by promoting war, may be referred to that attachment to private emolument, which causes us for the sake of present gain to sacrifice the public cause, when in the end the cause of the public is the advantage of the individual; and to the want of zeal to interest us in the meliorative operations of improvement, and produce the generous and warm sentiments requisite to introduce and support a system of general welfare or public measures commensurate to the concerns of our own and all other countries, and the purposes of creation at large. Hence they who have the opportunity too frequently plunder the public and their country; and, attached to these for their own sinister views, defend and serve them only for their own private ends. Hence individuals, even those who possess the greatest fortunes, neglect every-where the local improvement of their country; nay, though their honour and interests call upon them to carry it to the highest state of perfection: and hence all stations, both high and low, pervert or do not advance the public and universal good, that is their own true interest, with those generous efforts and liberal views, which Providence requires from us

all; but remain absorbed in their own inordinate selfish views, or in a total apathy to any other call, than that of their own wills and connections. In a still more marked and censurable manner, men who find themselves associated for the short period of their lives in a common interest, or who in their corporate capacity are in some degree separated from the rest of their fellow subjects, prefer with blind predilection and infatuated madness their narrow cause to that of the community, and thwart the dearest interests of humanity in it's favour: even when in giving a due preference to the latter they would be amply indemnified for their own private losses, their successors could not be injured, and posterity and their country at large would be infinitely benefitted. Nay, it is thus, that statesmen pay little regard to the true interests of their country and mankind; and instead of these, principally seek to gratify their own ambition and obstinate humours, to try their own weak projects, and to subject human affairs to the mistaken counsels of office, and to the frivolity of argument and declamation. In their ministerial character, like the fisherman, they beat the water to make the fish strike into their nets, taking no heed, that they thus render the water altogether unfit for the use of the community. Thus addicted to their own schemes, they involve society, their country, and the World, in general distress and hostility, misery and devastation; and gratify

their hardened appetites at the expense of innocence and merit, the widow's tears, and the orphan's despair. Perhaps another source of political immorality ought to be taken into consideration; the thorough deception, and the consequent impulse so often imposed, through the artful excitement of the passions, upon the public mind, which, joined with ignorance, and the impossibility, in this case, of judging right on political matters, cause the people at large to second with the blindest fury the views of weak and wicked ministers; and resigned wholly to the discretion of the latter, like an irresistible conflagration, to be employed solely for the purposes of destruction. The dreadful effects hence produced are so great, that both parties must alike be accountable for them to the great Father of all things; and dreadful will be the account.

Nations and empires may be great and illustrious from their wealth and military virtue: but they cannot be really prosperous and happy, and must rapidly decline to infamy and ruin, under the direction of a false system, which, as is now shown, embraces the extremes of both economical imbecility, and political guilt. I cannot however justly stigmatize the conduct of such nations and empires, without having recourse to terms, which the school of folly and incapacity, of meanness and corruption, and of vice itself, must necessarily supply. For the description of

the fatal consequences of a false, weak, and criminal system of public measures in respect of the interests of Great Britain, I must refer, therefore, to the work entitled 'Peace on Earth:' and I cannot avoid recommending it's author's example to others; whose stern and awful, yet dispassionate, denunciation of the political weaknesses and vices of his country, if universally adopted, would certainly lead to the rectifying of our public affairs. The parliamentary justification and public panegyrics of them, which are never wanting on any occasion, must precipitate national ruin; cause a continuance in wretched and dangerous measures; and prevent a proper sense and horrour of them, and therefore the introduction of those enlightened, and opposite views and measures, which alone can save the empire. Can a British legislature be so far degraded in virtue, and lost to all feelings of rectitude, as in this manner to screen, support, and extol the extremes both of real economical imbecility, and real political guilt, at a time when effectual means are proposed, which, if rightly understood and not thus obstructed, will remove them, redress the affairs of the nation, and perfect the public and private prosperity and happiness of the whole empire? It is the impressive voice and proper sense of truth alone, honestly applied to describe our conduct in all particulars, that can purge us of crime and folly, which we do not detest solely

because from custom we permit and glory in them; and can free the mansion from virulence and contagion, so as to render it the abode of health, and activity. Till truth actually rises in meridian splendour, the horizon of Great Britain will continue to be involved in the horrours of storm and darkness, enlightened only by the occasional collisions of the warring elements of human destruction. It is truth in perfect freedom which alone can expose, and triumph over political vice and folly in every quarter of the world. It is unavoidable therefore on my part, in order to save my country, not to be sparing in bringing the worst of charges and accusations against her; even of the highest injustice, of the violation of every virtue, of conduct altogether inhuman, of her voluntary desertion of all pretensions to her ancient honour and renown, as she has wronged and oppressed the man born to save her, to aggrandize her, and to raise her to the summit of prosperity and happiness. For if history can justify the present war, because before it's commencement the ports of France and her allies were really full of hostile preparations; the infraction of the treaty of Amiens, because the political ability and ingenuity of ministers were unable to contrive any expedient for preserving it entire; the siege of St. Domingo, with the destruction of the French power and army in that island, because it was politic and commendable to destroy the foreign

commerce of France, though we permitted her to send forces for it's protection; and our innocence in respect of conspiring with Pichegru and Mahee against the person of the French Emperor, because there was no truth in the charge: yet will history dare to vindicate Great Britain from the accusation, that she not only did not befriend the progress of the perfection of the general welfare of herself and the whole World, but neglected, wronged, and resigned to contempt, shame, poverty, and dishonour, the author of the system of national perfection, when it was advanced to such a state of maturity that she actually borrowed from it the whole of the income tax? This accusation is incontrovertibly substantiated. A gentleman* presuming on his own philanthropic disposition, and peculiar situation in life, ventures his fortune and character in ascertaining the proper means to complete the grand system of national perfection. When he had proceeded with this object, so far as was prudent and necessary on his part, he produced to ministers the means for the purpose, including a plan for paying off the national debt, and at the same time removing the public burdens, which contained the proposals of raising the supplies within the year and the income tax. Neither proposal however was encouraged: but the latter plan was examined and

* Dr. Edwards.

allowed to be adequate for it's purpose, and found exceptionable solely because a national debt was a public benefit. In vain he attempted to convince them of so gross a folly. In vain he predicted to them, that every financial aid they could prepare would soon be necessary in consequence of the political system they had adopted. When the prediction in a short time took place, they borrowed the income tax from his proposals, noticing the author as little as the idea of national perfection itself; or as little as the annihilation of finance for ever, as a national burden and grievance, contained in his proposals. Nay, Mr. Pitt without a blush ascribed all merit of the income tax to himself, and claimed and received the honour of it from all Europe; depriving the real author of all recompense, as well as of the great and dearly earned character of having discovered a new and invaluable system of finance. Parliament even shared in the whole guilt of the transaction, as it contained not a single member disposed to vindicate friendless merit, deprived of other rights and claims, much greater and more extraordinary than the honours which Mr. Pitt assumed from the income tax. Thus the completion of all the various views of universal good, of national perfection, of the means of commanding public and private prosperity and happiness, of establishing the kingdom of God on Earth, and of rectifying public affairs, as proposed in this pamphlet, was concentred in

the person of the author of the income tax and in a single system of general welfare. A Roman Emperor once wished, that the lives of all the Romans were condensed in one single head: but most assuredly he would have spared that head, since with it's destruction his own empire must have fallen. A British ministry, a Mr. Pitt, a British parliament, left that person to be ruined and that system to be destroyed for ever; yet surreptitiously took from them the income tax.

My countrymen! can a country be more base and unprincipled, more unjust, more impolitic, less philanthropic, patriotic, and humane, than such a transaction would show this country to be? That person however submitted not to the fatal stroke, but rose above it. He snatched from destruction, from impiety and parricide, from turpitude and impolicy far greater than ever disgraced the decline of the Roman empire, that precious system, which is destined to constitute the future perfection of the World, and complete the public and private prosperity and happiness of this kingdom; pious and true to his sacred trust, like Eneas when he snatched from the flames of Troy those precious remains, which Heaven had decreed to found a still greater empire, the greatest the World has ever known.

Countrymen! or rather ye ministers and legislators of Great Britain, the system recommended is ripe for adoption, and in all respects competent

to save our country from ruin, and rectify public affairs. If you do not adopt it, government will continue to degenerate: and a short period only may elapse, before it may actually wish to be more unprincipled, more unjust, more impolitic, less philanthropic, less patriotic and humane, than it has yet been. It may at last say; "the system is infinitely great and perfect, but the World shall never be spared from war and carnage: taxation and distress shall always grind the subject: the arts of improvement shall never flourish in their genuine majesty: crime and imperfection shall triumph eternally; and the will of God shall not be done on Earth, but be opposed for ever. We are enraptured with the present political system, because our country cannot be saved and rescued by it from it's present situation: because it will destroy the proper arts and means of national aggrandizement, or prevent ingenuity and industry from ever employing them to found and bring states and nations to perfection: because it will subject our own empire, as it has done all others, to extreme misery, and final ruin. Let chance, individual merit, and the industry of the subject, if they please, endeavour to advance the prosperity and happiness of mankind. It is the province and imprescriptible right of government, to be deteriorative, predatory, and destructive: and a Theodoric, a Charlemagne, an Alfred, and a Peter, have been exceptions only as private individuals, and barbarians. Let empires

in future, as in ancient times, continue to become great, in order to destroy themselves and one another, like the Assyrian and Persian empires. Let new Carthages avail themselves of commerce and conquest, to provide materials and spectacles for new ruins and future conflagrations. Let not the insolence and brutality of heroes and Alexanders be stopped in their career, and prevented from carrying conquest throughout the World; and let them be inebriated with ambition and false glory, in order to devastate and pillage mankind. Let new Grecian states accomplish themselves with every mental excellence, the charms of literature, the sentiments of true heroism, and prepare for themselves immortal honours and renown, in order to indulge the bitter suggestions of malignity, and conceive revenge and jealousy against each other; and thus finally resign to their conquerors and destroyers the illustrious monuments of their arts, refined talents, and polished manners. Let Roman and British empires fall, and others arise in their stead: let these sacrifice the interests of the Earth to their aggrandizement: engross all commerce: triumph and domineer over the World with their fleets and armies: exhaust their subjects: found perpetual war in political crime and imbecility: and be unwearied in contending for their own invasion, dependance, and destruction. Let not wisdom, policy, humanity, perfection, and religion, interfere with them, and these our sove-

reign wills and pleasures, unless at the hazard of their own destruction, and the certainty, so long as we exist, of experiencing our bitterest vengeance."

Hear then ye foreign powers! hear then the literal language of Great Britain: for it will be the faithful transcript of her conduct, if she dishonourably reject, and impiously abhor, a perfect system of general welfare. Engrave it on your tablets in the lasting characters of shame and infamy, in order that she may never be able to obliterate them, but by sincere penitence, and the actual introduction and establishment of national perfection throughout the World.

The nature and qualities of a perfect system of general welfare, conformable to which the affairs and interest of the World, and the purposes of the creation ought to be managed and constituted, having now been pointed out in it's great outlines, as well as the fatal causes that have hitherto prevented it's introduction; it is next proposed, AS THE SECOND DIVISION of the subject of the present publication, and as already has been announced, to show the proper practical means of carrying such system, and the measures which it recommends, into effect, and thereby of establishing the perfection of nations, and rectifying our own affairs. These means are six, and will be treated under different heads in the following order. 1st, An executive system purposely adapted,

and competent to carry a system of national perfection into effect. 2dly, The art or science of practical improvement, as it enables us to desire and institute the proposed executive system and such measures of general welfare, as may in any mode be detached and employed singly for rectifying the public affairs of the nation, and conducting different improvements. 3dly, The different parties which are adequate to conduct the art of practical improvement, and the executive system now proposed. 4thly, The providing of the capital requisite for accomplishing the different objects of national perfection, and carrying the national improvements into effect. 5thly, The true knowledge of religion, as it is intended both to discharge the offices of devotion, and actuate the manual and mental industry, and regulate the general welfare of the human species; and thus to accomplish the purposes of national perfection and divine creation, as well as to rectify public affairs, by making an adequate impression of it's sacred duties for those purposes, both upon the individual, the nation at large, and all nations. 6thly, The means which different countries mutually have of aiding and contributing to their reciprocal welfare, and maintaining peace, harmony, and friendship together; thus of effecting the improvement of one another; of adding to the national perfection of each the services, that may be derived from the national perfection of the rest; and of establishing

the grand era of mankind in the universal improvement of all nations: with the outlines of a proposal for forming a permanent peace between Great Britain and France, which will be their common interest; and is farther requisite to institute such melioration, as is intended, of the concerns of the whole World.

In respect of the first of the above articles, an executive system calculated to carry a system of national perfection into effect; it may be observed, that the latter system has not only been considered at large in the preceding or first division of this work, but the former likewise in a great measure, it being actually a principal part of that grand system of general welfare, which we have seen is revealed to us both by the word of God, and by the works of the creation, commonly called nature. For it has been shown, that the system of national perfection is practical to a very great extent: and the different measures contained in it, being selected as there arranged, would be entitled to the denomination of an executive system. Additional means however are necessary to complete it; and they are such measures, as human thought, experience, and practice, may suggest without any scientific preparation, or as may result from practical improvement cultivated as an art in the manner pointed out under the second head. Thus man, as is intended by the Almighty, has in different means originally created and provided for

the purpose, and in the resources of his genius, the actual powers to accomplish all the different objects of national perfection by proper measures and means given to him for the purpose; by these as single and detached; by these as happily and skilfully combined into plans, which constitute practical undertakings or projects of every possible quality and magnitude, whether metaphysical or material, finite or infinite; by these cooperating together, and being actually incorporated into a grand executive system, which can be employed instrumentally either as a whole or partially, so as to be able to carry forward all human and sublunary interests in a body or by piece-meal, and to comprehend every single ray and emanation, as well as the total effulgence, of public and private prosperity and happiness; and by all, as capable of being at all times regularly and uniformly managed and administered by means of different economical establishments and public works. The practicability in fine of national perfection is no longer questionable, but has been fully solved by Dr. Edwards in his literary works mentioned in the fourth appendix, and in others, wherein an executive system is laid before the public competent to effect it. In them are contained and may be seen adequate plans and projects selected for accomplishing every different object of national perfection, that has hitherto been accounted unattainable or impracticable. He assures us they

may as readily be carried into their full effect, as the others concerning the success of which no apprehensions have been entertained; nor need, as he thinks it an easy task to plan and execute the whole. Yet how wonderfully great, such only as must previously have been predestined by Providence, are his proposed improvements of the Highlands of Scotland, of Ireland, of Indostan, and of the British West Indies! In like manner he has shown it is a congenial operation for the legislature, to bring to perfection the husbandry of the whole of the United Kingdom, and to establish in their full splendour and extent our northern fisheries. What new views has he not opened to mankind! He has enlarged the sphere of practical melioration, so far as to embrace the perfection of politics, which he has rendered adequate to our interests, and at the same time to those of all other nations; and fortunately for both has reconciled them to each other. He has really reduced the politics of Great Britain to a scientific system, though they have always been in the most preposterous state of confusion in this country, and never been understood by ministers. Even the improvement of the World he shows to be such an undertaking, as results from the due regard and attention, that ought to be paid to the true interests of every enlightened state and nation: and he has enabled us to new model finance and police, so as to gain from the first a capital

sufficient to accomplish all the national improvements, and to qualify the latter for the effective performance of such various and important services, as entitle it to the comprehensive appellation of public agency. At the same time he is able to point out the means of exonerating his country from taxation, as a national grievance: and proposes the most powerful and energetic plans for the maintenance of the poor, the support of the roads of the kingdom, and the conduct of a national bank, which he shows may at pleasure be employed as fruitful sources of revenue. But in collecting the appropriate means of advancing individual prosperity and happiness, and establishing them as one of the twelve constituent subjects of general welfare, he has attempted to pay off that vast debt long due from our species to humanity and private misery; and to erect a grand column, which in time will tower above the clouds, and be lost in the heavens themselves. In fine, what important discoveries and advantages has not the Almighty reserved for us and the future races of mankind, in enabling the author to ascertain the anatomy of the mind; the proper uses of finance; the true application of religion as the most powerful instrument of advancing the different interests of general welfare; and in particular that grand system, which embraces and consummates all human interests, and constitutes the kingdom of God itself! With reason therefore may we rejoice,

when we see with what temper he conducts the career of practical improvement; how delicately he refrains from pushing perfection, where it is not to be expected; how happily he has suppressed the warmest energies of the meliorative powers, in not attempting to render government perfect. An essay, at which human nature herself smiles, unable to suppress ambition in every mind blest with genius and elevated conceptions; and to make virtue always proof against the temptations and allurements of desire and interest. Thus he has given pledges to the highest and most sacred orders, that national improvement is in all respects consistent with the interests, dignities, and privileges of their respective stations.

It is not, however, proposed to enter into the detail of an executive system calculated for the accomplishment of national perfection; and what is necessary to say in respect of it is abundantly supplied by the works referred to: for such a detail is altogether inconsistent with the extended limits of the present publication. The rest of the present subject will therefore be appropriated to the important consideration of the great evils and misfortunes, from which the proposed system will liberate nations. Enough indeed has already been said upon it's services, as they would be directly beneficial in advancing general welfare.

An executive system qualified as above, consisting of powers of various qualities, referring to a

system of national perfection, which comprises the widest circuit of public and private prosperity and happiness; and as of divine origin, being alike intended for all nations, and therefore peculiarly adapted for conducting the general affairs of the whole World; must necessarily be the proper school for making and instructing ministers of state, and liberating nations from the numerous and grievous evils they have so long experienced at their hands. No other school is in fact able to qualify them for perfecting general welfare, and rectifying public affairs, or to make them great men in reality. No other school affords either the means or opportunities, or is upon a proper and adequate scale, for such comprehensive objects: and it will unquestionably lower and accommodate all public measures whatever to the capacity and talents of those who in different departments, and according to the common course of things, are appointed to their direction. Indeed these eminent characters, the importance and functions of their high stations considered, have in all ages been the most unfortunate of men, from being unacquainted with the practice of national perfection. For they have never been competent to the purposes of humanity and the creation: and have in the end ruined all countries. Whereas by a practical system of national perfection they would have been able to consummate every human interest, and might have immortalized

empires: and that system, as complete, would have placed mankind above the influence and changes of times, circumstances, and opinions, and of all the false measures, that have proved inimical to mankind. It is in fact the sole safeguard of nations against folly and absurdity, perversity and degeneracy, weakness and guilt, revolution, misery, decline, and ruin.

At the same time it would alike free kings and their subjects from absolute dependance upon ministers of state, parties, great names, and false splendour and decoration substituted for the reality of general welfare. The people then would be deluded by these in no respect, or not so far as to be materially injurious either to their sovereign or their country. They would be too wise and well informed to engage in a serious manner with either a desperate party or an ill founded opposition to government. They would never be blindly and passionately influenced, and conducted at pleasure by the various artifices of corrupt ministers, so as to support their proceedings however criminal, their follies however ruinous, and prevent all possible investigation and change of measures. A great majority of the people, instigated by influence, arts of government almost irresistible, and the violence of their passions, would never again be unanimous in supporting a mistaken policy, which either was happily terminated by the battle of Austerlitz, or must necessarily overthrow the British empire. Kings

may reign in their proper majesty, as they dispense good government, and duly administer all the public and private interests of society, through a perfect system of general welfare. Otherwise it is hardly possible for them to resist the consummate artifices and intrigues of those who surround them; or to avoid being directed and governed by them, while they appear to themselves to follow their own free wills, comply with the determinations of their own wisdom, and listen to the dictates of their own virtues and magnanimity. Kings under the guidance of such a system may be their own ministers, or even employ their favourites for this purpose. Nay the intentions of the British constitution can never otherwise be possibly realized, which supposes government to be administered by the agency of men of the first practical abilities, capable and willing to render the greatest possible services to the community, such as neither office, literature, nor eloquence, indeed nothing but the proposed system, can possibly produce with regularity and uniformity. At the same time they would be surrounded with a nobility and representatives of their subjects, worthy of the honour, who, proficients in a system, the knowledge of which is in all respects familiar and interesting to them, would, in supporting it, support the throne and their country, instead of devoting themselves either to ministry or opposition.

Measures alone would then be the object of con-

sideration instead of men, who neither cultivate, nor make adequate inquiries into the proper subjects that constitute general welfare; and being consequently inexperienced therein, cannot by practice improve their executive powers for carrying them into effect. We should then know of what real insignificance, not to say how injurious, without such a system, the great names placed at the head of affairs during the present reign have been; of what true value to their country have been a Chatham, a Townsend, a Rockingham, a Grenville, a North, a Pitt, and a Sidmouth. Therefore, rather than prefer the system, the real knowledge of general welfare, and the arts of practical improvement, before great names, and celebrated ministers, shall we throw away another America, another five hundred millions of money, and in the end the whole empire? It is the poor mistake of the ignorant and uninformed, and will be the ruin of the nation, to suppose what are called great men can save the empire and public affairs. For, unacquainted with a perfect system of general welfare, they will only be right and fortunate by chance; and, embracing a false system, will consequently resign themselves to the direction of political guilt and economical imbecility. Thus we ought to lower our ideas of ministerial excellence, and no longer deify men for making long harangues, imposing taxes, involving us in war, granting a few bounties, and establish-

ing commercial regulations and treaties, while they have been the authors of all the misfortunes of the present times. We surely ought to consign the vast mass of general welfare, the value of which is infinite, not to the supposed virtues and talents of statesmen, but to that practical perfection of a system, which will even guide the blind, and give vigour and activity to the weak, knowledge and information to the ignorant, and real virtue to all the votaries of ambition and fame. Let us then regard our certain interests, and no longer buoy up ourselves with great names, whatever men may be at the helm: embracing that system which alone can prevent the execration of posterity, on account of the confidence we have already given to such great names as have been mentioned.

Oppositions and parties, as they are known in this country, are by no means a remedy to these evils. For if in some measure they counteract, in others they aggravate them. The former are diverted or secluded from the proper study and cultivation of general welfare; and when they come into place, furnish the crown with new servants, but with similar measures to those pursued by their predecessors, some temporary expedients or apparent alterations excepted. The latter in separating and coalescing; in hostile conflicts; in accommodating their opinions to those of each other, and in friendly associations; nay in complimenting one another, when their variances are at the great-

est; too often have been fatal to the dearest interests of their country. Her true interests, it is obvious, cannot thus be better understood, but too often are sacrificed, whether for good agreement, or for the sake of contrariety. They are even sacrificed after the death of parties. The death of Mr. Pitt seemed providentially intended to afford an opportunity for forming a friendly peace with France; and on this account should have been passed over without panegyrising his memory. His political measures would then have appeared to be absorbed in the failure of his projects and the battle of Austerlitz: and peace would have naturally followed his interment; had not the public funeral honours decreed him sanctioned those measures, and astonished Europe, as well as France, in seeing how uncongenial he had rendered the soil of Great Britain to the cultivation of the olive. Nay parties in succession support one another, so that the public always expects from the succeeding those services, which it can receive only from system.

The system is still more indispensable, as the public attention is singularly diverted by the various artifices of decoration and embellishment, from perceiving the necessity of adopting those novel and extraordinary resources, which the times require; and is thus induced to acquiesce in present measures whatever these may be. A system is wanted which will render real, essential, and the

greatest of national services; which will produce plenty, riches, and happiness; and effectually counteract the progress of misery and ruin; while a veil of splendour and glory is thrown over our actual situation, that effectually prevents it's redress, and, hiding universal evil, radically aggravated, infinitely increases it. The publication of Parliamentary debates, the proud pretensions of literature, and various societies in the metropolis, established to cultivate particular limited objects, and for this purpose to meet once a week during winter, can only in a manner undeserving of notice supply the purposes of a system of general welfare: but they contribute greatly to dazzle the public eye, and draw attention from far greater objects. Engines unknown to former ages, daily, weekly, and monthly papers and pamphlets represent without intermission the nation as one grand spectacle of dignity and glory, and render the people infatuated with every thing around them, and altogether unmindful of what the times require. They spread the fascinating charms of imagery and description over the most ordinary occurrences, with the grandest terms elevate the different national transactions, and with complimentary adulation render every trifle pleasing, while they reserve no praise for true glory, or such achievements of real improvement as the crisis demands: exalt the most common actions of the great into those of gods and heroes; and repre-

sent the nation as one continued scene of grandeur, happiness, and magnificence, in theatres, routs, dances, musical performances, private parties, and public entertainments. They depress all the virtues of rival nations, in order to offer to our own that high complimentary adulation, which not only estranges the mind from pursuing farther improvements and great and noble objects, but is the usual predecessor of seduction and ruin. They even think for the nation, and having long supplied it with daily doctrines and opinions, supersede the use of political thought and judgment in general, both in the highest and the lowest classes, and thus leave the public mind wholly in the power of government, to direct by such information as it thinks fit; while like the magnificent spectacles exhibited in the decline of the Roman empire, they adorn, but precipitate, the fall and misery of imperial greatness.

The second head of the present division of this work is the consideration of practical improvement, as an art or science calculated to devise and institute a system of executive measures proper for carrying national perfection into effect, or executive measures of general welfare, as they may in any manner be detached and employed for rectifying public affairs and conducting improvements singly. Practical improvement may be defined to be that executive ability founded on the meliorative principle of man, which, depending upon his

mental and corporeal faculties, and their due improvement, enables him to cultivate and bring to perfection all objects capable of melioration, and to conduct affairs in general to the greatest advantage; overcoming whatever difficulties and obstacles may intervene to prevent him from accomplishing these purposes. The anatomy of the mind shows, that there is a meliorative principle*

* The existence of this passion and principle ought not to be controverted, because it may not appear to possess and depend upon corporeal organization, or to be connected with more marked characters of passion. This is often the case with the passions. Even the attachments themselves are in different cases no exception, of which the following is a remarkable instance: A lady approaching to her 90th year of age, and on her death-bed, when the frame was exhausted by acute disease, was remarkably sensible to preconceived attachment. Beside the amiable and great virtues of her sex, which old age had only completed, not diminished, in taste she was the first, or one of the first florists of her age, and had for six or seven years back conceived a great liking or affection for a gardener's wife, who had brought her occasionally some rare flower roots. At those times when the paroxysms of fever, soon to be mortal, without delirium, were most urgent, even when the coldness of the body was extreme and universal, accompanied with continual vibrations of the lower jaw, seeing this woman, or hearing her voice, she was sensibly affected, crying out, "Sally! save me! Save me, Sally——Give Sally what she wants——Let her not go to bed without wine!" Thus she was frequently excited, while sinking under extreme debility: and showed the most impassioned tenderness for this person, when her distressed and beloved relatives could not possibly receive the least marks of such envied attention. So strong in

in man, which nature carefully associates with his active powers, by this means providing for their due cultivation; and renders them in consequence sufficiently energetic to accomplish the grand purposes for which they were intended. Such executive ability however is not acquired in perfection without proper arts, rules, and directions, a number of which are given in the work entitled 'Peace on Earth,' Chap. III; and others are proposed to be here subjoined. Thus practical improvement includes the means of devising and instituting meliorations of all kinds, and of succeeding in the greatest of enterprises: and is or may be made an art versatile and applicable to all subjects whatever, civil, economical, financial, metaphysical, mental, and religious, as well as agricultural, military, political, and legislative.

How as an art, practical improvement may be brought to maturity, and be enabled to accomplish whatever can be reasonably expected from it; is a subject both too extensive to enter upon at length, and too tedious and complicated to treat with accuracy and minuteness in this place. It is therefore necessary, though too important to be passed over entirely, to take only a slight view of it. Accordingly I shall consider it, as executive ability consists in practice, and not in speculative

Death can the energies of the mind prove; distracted, oppressed, and confounded as they necessarily must be, when soul and body prepare a long farewell.

views, and should therefore be instructed and experienced in practical measures and expedients, as they are requisite for the purposes of improvement: as these measures and expedients should be founded on truth and certainty, and on their sufficiency both in extent and number to embrace the whole of their intended purposes: as novel measures and expedients hitherto unknown or inadequate should be brought forward to promote national perfection and rectify public affairs: as it may be necessary to form various practical measures into proper combinations for effecting different improvements, and promoting the interests of general welfare; and often at the same time to combine those measures with useful information: and in what manner the operations of practical improvement should be introduced and carried into effect.

It is unnecessary to show, that practical improvement is occupied in actual measures and expedients, that tend, so far as their capacity reaches, to promote universal good, and the different objects which constitute this; that it is pursued in a very imperfect manner; and that statesmen often embrace measures of an opposite tendency, judging universal good to be a speculative subject. Thus the cultivation and advancement of general welfare, except in unavoidable business and the common routine of office, are neglected by all governments. That in fact is neglected, which is the proper essence of government. Hence laws are

merely restrictions and regulations, not attempting to furnish plans and directions in a manner worthy notice for forwarding any kind of improvement. The time that Parliaments can possibly give to the advancement of general welfare at large is necessarily short, and busily occupied by the multiplicity of common affairs and regulations, which come before them; and what leisure could be spared for this purpose is allotted to debate and argument rather than to sage counsel and plain truth. Speculation is no farther employed upon these than sometimes to mention and quote the works of Dr. Smith. Money is not supplied, in order to cultivate the grand interests and resources of the nation: and when an individual, destitute of parliamentary interest, explores them by his own means, so far as to enable her even to meet all her enemies in the true career of aggrandizement, his proposals are seized, and become the prey and property of ministers for their own purposes. A very considerable part of general welfare, if not the whole, is included in literature and eloquence, especially in those of Greece and Rome, and has not yet been separated from them, as a subject distinct in itself; in which however it occupies a very small space. It is altogether a subordinate part, and is greatly perverted by their fascinations and interested views, and the exhaustless arguments they supply. Of the fact, and it's fatal effects, " the greatest, wisest, and best of men, Marcus Anto-

ninus, was well aware, who reckons it as the greatest favour he had received from the gods, that they had not suffered him to make any great proficiency in the arts of eloquence and poetry, lest by that means he should have been diverted from pursuits of more importance to his high station."

Thus while statesmen apply not to the objects of general welfare with the attention which is necessary to the success of common affairs, and bestow more time upon understanding the beauties of a picture or a horse, perusing penal statutes, and displaying the graces of eloquence, than upon promoting that grand and comprehensive subject, in which all the real interests of their country and mankind are comprised; they can be great only in name, certainly not in practical improvement and national business. To be really great in these, they should delight in the study of them, in acquiring a knowledge of their principles, in exercising their different executive powers, and in accustoming themselves to make great improvements of every kind. They must acquire a peculiar skill and happiness in the use of those powers, render them familiar and habitual, and thus actually create a genius or turn for practical improvement. It is the study of whatever is useful, the exploring of the means for accomplishing every species of universal good, the employing of the faculties in concerting and combining the means for this pur-

pose, full experience and practice, and the growth as it were of the parts of the mind conformably to these processes, which can produce a useful minister, so far proficient in promoting the different interests of his country, as to be justly and worthily entitled to celebrity and esteem in the present critical state of the British empire. Even after thus acquiring a due capacity for practical improvement, applicable to every different meliorative view of general welfare, great thought and reflection are farther necessary to suggest those inferences, on which the fate of great events and undertakings may depend, as Dr. Edwards has shown in explaining the nature of discovery and invention. The ancients, whom we so justly admire, sought after genuine excellence, mental and corporeal, in the line of habitual action and practice, much more than later ages have done: and this attention produced not only those great literary performances of theirs, which we have never been able to equal; but likewise those improved bodily powers, that gave the human form it's highest embellishments and most active energies, and enabled it to consummate the happiest productions of the arts.

The different measures and expedients, as well as the useful knowledge in general, (for it is impossible to separate them,) which may be proposed in order to accomplish the whole or any part of a practical system of general welfare, to constitute

national perfection, and to redress public affairs; must, in respect of being serviceable, and producing their effects, necessarily depend upon their truth and certainty; and upon their number as sufficient to accomplish their respective purposes. It is therefore an object of the greatest consequence, to be thoroughly acquainted with the proper principles which may determine the certainty of such measures, and enable us to explore them in such number and of such quality, as may be competent for effecting their different intentions. It is however proposed, in making a few observations upon each of these views, rather to point out the general line that ought to be pursued, than to make a direct application of them to so comprehensive and diversified an object as national perfection.

The certainty of practical measures and of useful knowledge, as their services are requisite here, may be considered to be ascertained by evincing their truth, or what they are, and what may be their powers and effects; and by guarding against imposition and falsehood. It is therefore proposed to consider summarily how truth is determined. This may in the first place be considered, as it is ascertained by actual perception, the due efficacy of which must greatly depend upon it's individual capacity natural and improved; likewise upon a happy and skilful interpretation of the appearance of things, and upon a due degree of sagacity and

penetration. When perception thus simply exercised is insufficient to ascertain truth, we have recourse to inference, grounded on self-evidence or the certainty of deduction; the employment of which in an effectual manner for it's proposed purpose is a work of the greatest importance. It is either single, or compound: and the latter is what in logic is called demonstration; which consists in a series of single inferences, the preceding always proving the succeeding, and the last the truth sought after. Farther, in ascertaining truth in respect of affairs and objects of great consequence and magnitude, by means of adequate information concerning them; and in being able to frame means with certainty for accomplishing them, by omitting no measures that are requisite to complete them, and ensure their success; it is as essential to take a complete and comprehensive view of whatever knowledge and measures relate to the subject or subjects in question, as it is to judge concerning the actual truth of them. This is a rule of great importance in practical improvement, the neglect of which has often caused the total miscarriage of great designs, or rendered them incomplete and very inadequate to their intentions; and is at present, as may be inferred from the ignorance of the existence of a system of national perfection, one principal cause of the various defects, errours, and calamities of states and empires. But when these, and whatever other means

we may pursue for detecting and arriving at truth, fail us, a recurrence to actual trials and extensive experience is frequently a very valuable succedaneum in their place. Facts are much surer, and more to be depended upon, than reasoning: and even perception, judgment, and demonstration, must submit to their superiour certainty. In so many different respects are we liable to fallacies, that the greatest judgments must submit to what can never be really false, to facts. But it is not proposed to enter into the consideration of the means of guarding us against falsehood, and to advert among others to the subjects of theory and defective reasoning; for they would carry us too far. It is however necessary always to be upon our guard against the arts of falsehood; against the fatal consequences of numerous received and unsuspected errours; and in particular against those delusions of passionate deception, that are fully pointed out in the Appendix. The powers of truth, however strong, are of no avail against this species of deception: and the most material service they require is the removal of it's destructive influence. The greatest and the lowest stations are equally it's slaves, therefore neither can correct it's abuses: but the prejudices and weaknesses of mankind are too sure grounds of vantage to be neglected by statesmen, who thus by well known arts can incense the people whom they govern to the supreme heights of fury and folly, and

induce them to concur in all respects with their own vices and passions. Insomuch that parliaments should interfere, and, as a sacred duty, protect both government and the populace by some happy expedient against so dangerous a power. It might even be advisable for the purpose to paint on the walls of senates the victory of truth over so dreadful a foe as passionate deception: and it would be far more useful to the United Kingdom to be really able to record such a victory, than the conquest of corruption itself.

In respect of practical improvement, as it is to be directed to produce novel objects, views, and measures, and by their means to enlarge the present stock of universal good, make every possible addition to the public and private prosperity and happiness of the United Kingdom and the World at large, and redress whatever may threaten misfortune and calamity to the state; we ought to increase in number, and power, not less than in certainty and validity, the means of advancing general welfare and the interests of our country and mankind, until these means are consummated, as they are intended to contribute to advance national perfection. The principal aids for these purposes, which it is sufficient to notice here in general, are freedom of thought, due research and investigation, experiment, and discovery. Agreeably to what has been proved concerning the divine intentions in respect of national perfection,

as well as of the fact, there are invaluable resources provided for accomplishing this glorious object in the works of creation and their purposes, and in the civil and economical proceedings, customs, and institutions of society, which the above active powers are destined to explore; though these powers can only succeed in exploring them by adequate exertions, which must be greater as those resources are more complex and recondite, have been longer objects of pursuit, and been therefore more sought into and exhausted. Without liberty of thought, no nation has ever made a great progress in the useful arts and sciences. We cannot think right, unless by thinking freely; and can reach the various sources of our prosperity and happiness only by extensive researches after them. For these purposes we ought to think for ourselves: act independently of the prejudices and restrictions of common usage; and exalt the human genius to a height equal to it's destiny. Therefore the Creator has intended we should advance the interests of general welfare by placing no bounds to observation; by collecting all the facts that may be serviceable to mankind; and inquiring by experiment into all the unknown qualities, properties, and uses both of things and of institutions, throughout nature and in society. In like manner it is intended, that we shall inform ourselves of whatever is injurious to mankind; and examine all objects without partiality or prepossession, as ad-

vantageous or disadvantageous to our interests. Time and assiduity are necessary in these researches: and without acquired habits of skill and investigation, our faculties are too feeble to take a part in the least important concerns of general welfare, much more so in the management of affairs of state. In this free and liberal manner, lord Bacon has given his decided opinion, that we are as able to make civil as physical improvements: and that great era of improvement, which has taken place in consequence of advancing natural knowledge according to the recommendations of this great philosopher, would have been complete and illustrious by the perfection of what may be called civil or economical knowledge, had not government been so blind and deaf to humanity, so flagrantly adverse to the intentions of the Almighty, as to have excluded this important object from the concerns that come under their province. To concerns so important, the means and powers of practical improvement, now considered, are indispensable; particularly so in comprehensive questions, that require to be resolved into various different parts for separate consideration, before the whole can be judged and determined. This may be fully understood by referring to the plan proposed in 1805 by Dr. Edwards for effecting permanent peace between us and France. Herein are separately pointed out, and maturely and thoroughly considered, the following and other subjects; the

security of our Indian empire, in case the French should become possessed of Egypt, in respect of any apprehension of their forces being sent thither, either by the Red Sea, by Bassora, or Persia: the propriety of our establishing a new kingdom under the name of Assyria reaching from a certain portion of the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf: the necessity on the part of the French of surrounding their empire with a foreign barrier, and the sufficiency notwithstanding of the balance of power left to the rest of Europe for the maintenance of it's independance: the certainty of the French nation being disposed, and having adequate reasons, to make such permanent peace with this country, as would be highly advantageous to both parties: the deception under which the public have laboured in respect of the French emperor and nation: and the different means there are, as will be obvious, when those points are settled, for forming and cementing a permanent peace between the two countries. In this mode of analysis we ought to have inquired into so important and complicate a subject: and had ministers and the legislature pursued it, no doubt a permanent peace might long ago have been established between the two countries.

It having now been shown that all the different measures of general welfare with whatever useful knowledge pertains to them, can be established and ascertained on the basis of certainty

and truth; and that they can at the same time be increased in number, and improved in power and quality, in order to extend, as may be requisite, the sphere of practical improvement: it is proposed in the next place to make some general observations upon the different modes and advantages of combining these measures, or expedients for forwarding the purposes of practical improvement, and in particular of preparing the more complex means of accomplishing it's most arduous and important objects. These means consist in forming the measures into such efficient powers, as can produce effects, which they cannot singly accomplish; and in exhibiting the more complicate and important subjects under such views as may bring us most readily and intimately acquainted with them, and thus better enable us to carry them into effect, and draw from them the advantages, which they are capable of affording. These two purposes however are often inseparable, and are found perfectly to coincide. The principal modes of combining measures in the manner proposed may be referred to the following heads; to plans for executing different projects and undertakings of general welfare; to arts; sciences; practical treatises; and systems. In forming the whole there is great room for the exercise of the imaginative faculty, which in the anatomy of the mind is called the faculty of intellectual combination, and has hitherto been too

restrictively considered as a poetical talent. A duly cultivated and inventive mind is necessary in respect to these combinations; and great, comprehensive, sublime, and original views and powers are often as indispensable.

Practical plans are combinations of different measures singularly useful, and are very frequently required in the proposed operations of practical improvement. A capacity for devising them is therefore essential to the success and progress of improvements instituted on that scale which is wanted to produce the perfection of nations: and it is from neglect of cultivating proper talents for this purpose, that those improvements have been so remarkably liable to miscarriage. Plans are hardly reckoned to come under this name, when they can be accomplished by a very few simple measures or expedients, as is often the case. They may therefore be considered as compound, consisting either of various different views, each of which is to be realized by appropriate expedients, but all are to concur and cooperate at the same time, in order to frame and execute the plan; or of powers and parts, the operations of which, acting successively on one another, conspire to produce one grand effect by the expedient last operating. The views and expedients so employed should in all respects be adequate and effective for accomplishing their respective purposes; and in particular should be so far

comprehensive, as to complete the whole. Likewise they should all and severally be founded on the basis of truth and certainty, and cooperate with so powerful a connexion, that secure dependance may be placed at all times upon their joint cooperation. Practical plans corresponding with the objects or undertakings which they are intended to effect, should vary with these: and both as they are laid down, in order to be carried into execution, and as they produce their actual effects, should be plain and clear; concise, yet complete; simple, and free from what is speculative and foreign; and suggest and produce active and energetic operations.

The arts, it is unnecessary to say, are collections and combinations of rules, which enable mankind to conduct various performances of essential service to society: and they, as well as the sciences, are treated or explained at large, particularly as they are connected with the advancement of general welfare, in the second volume of the National Improvement of the British Empire. The sciences may appear to offer combinations of useful knowledge rather than of practical expedients. Yet, not only are they the best foundations of the arts, but they are capable of being, and ought to be, the combinations of both useful knowledge and practical expedients; and are incomplete, as they are deficient in either. At the same time they happily furnish that clear and full informa-

tion of their subjects, which enables us to carry them into effect, so as best to answer their different purposes. Science depends fundamentally upon different principles, which may be either constituent or executive truths, forming and combining into the different matters which at last produce a proper science, and often receiving similar accessions of subordinate sciences. It also arranges the different articles contained under it in a clear and methodical form: and thus contains a full knowledge of it's subject, the different parts of which are duly separated so as to prevent confusion, and the whole is so perfectly comprehended together, or in succession, as to enable us to draw from it all the advantages, which enlightened science is capable of furnishing, and to cause it to approach to the practical nature of art.

Those complete and accurate views above mentioned, called practical treatises, embracing at the same time the most proper and requisite means of carrying different interests of general welfare into effect, with whatever useful knowledge is materially connected with them, are of very great and essential service in all complicate subjects of practical improvement. They give us the most accurate information in both these respects, as complete and free from omission as possible; and furnish assistance of every kind, including both arts and sciences. They are applicable to all subjects of considerable extent, and may therefore be ren-

dered of very material service to various interests of general welfare. The learned physician derives very important services from them, as they are the principal instruments of medical instruction: and as the schools and authors teach medicine, each disease is included in a practical treatise of the kind, comprising whatever relates to it, or at least the description and history of the disease, it's causes, the rationale of it's several symptoms, it's prognostics, and the detail of the means proper for it's relief and cure, and for preventing it's accession and return.

The last species of combination mentioned, whether for advancing the purposes of practical improvement, or understanding the constitution of different objects effected by human industry and ingenuity or otherwise, is system. It may be loosely defined to be an arrangement, which exhibits the different parts of any extensive subject or numerous subjects, whether executive or constituent, under such divisions as concisely comprehend and happily elucidate the whole. As such, system may be simple; or it may be compound, as when it consists of different subordinate sciences, arts, practical treatises, and systems; of which the animal kingdom and the subject of general welfare, considered as aggregates, are proper examples, being comprised under different heads, which compose a principal or whole. Thus the most extensive and intricate subjects, nay subjects infinite

in their nature, can be applied to their proper purposes, when the employment of system enables us better to comprehend them, or to carry various practical measures, thus combined together, into effect.

Each of the twelve subjects of general welfare may be considered as a compound practical science, complete in itself, and intended for accomplishing the most important objects. Each, even politics and finance, is in all respects conformable to the true idea of a science. Each depends on fundamental principles, and embraces a perfect sphere of knowledge, while it is subject to whatever practical plans are requisite for realizing such knowledge. Each is of the highest importance to the interests of mankind and the purposes of creation: is ennobled by it's application to these, and ennobles the most trifling circumstances contained under it, in applying them to such views: and is blended with much philosophy and rational disquisition. Each can be greatly improved, and in being carried to it's practicable perfection render the most valuable of services. Each is highly serviceable to the rest. Each being capable of a regular and scientific construction for it's proper purposes, and the whole of them strongly cooperating, and being exactly adapted to a perfect state of general welfare, and comprehending all the practical means of advancing this; who will say, that they are not the proper constituent parts

of the complete aggregate of general welfare, and provided for this purpose in the act of creation; and that they do not constitute a divine practical system?

Thus one compound and perfect practical system of general welfare is the most powerful means that can be supposed for realizing national perfection, and constitutes, as it were, a simple art: and satisfactorily proves it's divine origin, as thus every human interest is provided for in this art, which may be conveniently managed as an instrument, by practical science, with all possible accuracy and regularity. Thus, as an instrument, it is thoroughly capable of rectifying public affairs, aggrandizing states, improving whole countries, and of establishing national perfection: and comprises every possible view of exalted policy, all humane and beneficent suggestions, the principles that will provide for every incidental exigence of state, and means and objects of many valuable, but at present unknown, services. Thus it would be mechanically invaluable in all ages and all countries, in the hands of legislators and ministers of state; and a complete guide for their public conduct. In particular it would correct economical imbecility, as well as political guilt, with however proud and arrogant a sense of greatness they may be supported: and enable those illustrious personages to accomplish themselves in all those high duties, which devolve upon them. It would effectually remedy

weakness, folly, and incapacity at the head of affairs, as these depend on vague speculative and theoretical notions, and on an invariable routine of practice, never understood, and incompetent to correct a single errour of consequence, to benefit by experience, and to form these general inferences and comprehensive views, which are of such essential import to the welfare of nations. This is the more urgent, when we see that political effusions in the papers, stamped with great names, bear not upon just, precise, rational, and scientific grounds: and when the most important public questions are determined not upon truth, extensiveness of means, and inventive combinations, the principles of which have been explained; but upon a determination to carry them, and upon passionate or interested, not rational arguments. Thus we have finally become the victims of literary and oratorical, casuistical and polemical talents, which can support any argument with sufficient plausibility by means of general reading and sceptical habits; and we can only be rescued from such a state by a system founded in truth, and possessed of every possible capacity, information, and executive energy.

In respect of the mode of introducing practical improvement, and carrying into effect it's different operations; it is proposed to offer only a few unconnected observations upon a subject so extensive. It is here a rule deserving notice, that we have only to know some great good can be effected; and

may be certain there are means of realizing it through the medium of practical improvement. On the other hand, there is hardly any means and knowledge, that have just pretensions to notice and excellence, which will not find an opportunity of contributing in some manner to the advancement of national perfection. We may likewise place the greatest dependance upon the powers of practical improvement: and their operations, however complicated and diffusive, if founded upon it's genuine principles, will completely answer their purposes. We should strictly adhere to the great principles it points out. Yet we should not imitate the stiffness and precision of an automaton; and pursue a line of conduct that may be rigorous and severe, and border upon an imaginary idea of perfection, that is impracticable. With firmness, and upon an open and free scale, yet with circumspection and prudence, we should employ it's services in such extent, as may promise the completion of it's purposes in a reasonable space of time. Yet too happy may our country be in it's first essays, to produce, by the means recommended, ministers possessed of real virtue and goodness, sincerely disposed to encourage the progress of the system, but endeavouring to save their country, before they attempt to advance it to national perfection. Whatever practical improvement may sanction, is capable of being alike scientifically and ably determined, devised, planned, and exe-

cuted, upon it's proper principles: and it's labours and energies, accompanied with philanthropy, are at all times competent in countries that are considered as civilized, to complete the destiny of mankind; and should be procrastinated as little as possible, if at all in the present state of Great Britain, which permits no compromise between indolence and enterprise, wisdom and folly, effectual improvements and proposals treacherously employed to support a vitiated system incapable of melioration.

The third and fourth heads proposed to be treated under the present division of this work for completing the various interests of general welfare are the consideration of the proper parties to be employed, in order to carry into effect and constitute the work of national perfection, and of rectifying public affairs: and the means of advancing what capital may be requisite to accomplish the great objects that relate to these. The two heads are announced under one, as the second requires no particular explanation, and, as will be seen hereafter, can be included in the first. These may be considered therefore under the following articles; the parties who ought to be charged with the exercise of practical improvement and the public administration of general welfare: our species as it ought to be individually employed in constituting national perfection: and the cooperation of government and the individual for accomplishing by

their joint powers such parts of national perfection, and such extensive improvements, as may exceed their respective energies separately employed.

The parties ought to be charged with the exercise of practical improvement and the public administration of general welfare, to whatever height of perfection this is carried, may be considered to be the same as they who at present have these important charges. They are therefore comprised under different civil establishments, such as Government, Parliaments, Police, and the military department; under various professions, as of the church, the law, medicine, and the principal persons and eminent characters connected with various occupations, such as agriculture, manufactures, &c.; and under the voluntary services of merit, or of individuals who optionally employ themselves from liberal and honourable motives in cultivating and improving the different interests of society and general welfare. In respect of the whole of these parties, it may be observed, that they should form one great and active body, employed to the full extent of it's capacity in thus advancing the general good. For from what has already been noticed, it is evident, that all the means wanted for the completion of the several purposes of general welfare and the improvement of the world, as this is to be forwarded by man, are provided, and may readily be carried into

effect, if our hearts be rightly disposed to search for them, and to employ them, when they are found, according to their destination. The great misfortune to the world has been, that the civil and professional establishments, from the basest principles of avarice and ambition, or from mistaken views of the dignity and estimation of their respective bodies, have been in different respects the fatal enemies of society and their country. Enough has already been said in regard to Governments, as they have been highly injurious. But it should be particularly observed, as what most merits censure in respect of the others, that they have contracted a highly pernicious *esprit du corps*, which has made them prefer the most selfish views of their respective bodies to their real advantage, as well as to the essential welfare of the community; even when the most generous recompenses have been offered for any losses they might individually sustain. Such in fact is the general insensibility to all public and private welfare, that for a termination of our actual distresses and privations the empire ought to look up solely to that class of men, who optionally dedicate themselves on liberal motives to advance the interests of society and mankind. These men cannot be too highly valued, when they have duly qualified themselves to realize their pretensions, and are men of undoubted virtue and merit: and it is astonishing what the services of a single individual may effect, freely

and happily employed in the cultivation and improvement of general welfare. They constitute the true order of merit, however neglected they are by corrupt nations; or discouraged by modern governments, unless as they may incidentally serve their ignoble views, and give a gloss to their proceedings.

In respect of parliaments, and the higher orders in general of society, it may be observed, that they have not sought to acquire that inclination, which is indispensable for the scientific cultivation and advancement of general welfare. For their education has not yet been directed upon that general scale of practical science, proficiency in which is requisite to meliorate the interests of society and nations: and they are totally indisposed against their improvements, either because they know themselves incompetent to them, because their predecessors have always marred and mismanaged them, or because in general they think it not their concern to possess philanthropy, executive talents, original powers, and comprehensive minds, when they wholly resign the interests of their country to ministers of state. It is too certain that things will remain in a very wretched situation, until they become scientifically versed in the practical arts of general welfare, which it is more proper for them, than for voluntary devotees, to attend to and prosecute. A parliament ought to be considered in the light of a

society, the immediate object of which is to study and cultivate improvements of all kinds, and to explore and consummate the different interests of general welfare. As it has been thought advisable in the present age to multiply such societies of every description in the metropolis, and too often on very indifferent grounds; parliament, acting with government as a universal society of improvement, would supply the infinite defects of the latter institutions, and constitute a body in all respects complete, and competent to realize the views of national perfection. The services it would thus render to the community; the impediments it would remove, that now oppose the progress of universal good; and the force of it's example on all ranks and individuals, as it would open their breasts to the generous emotions of humanity and improvement; need not here the least detail. Yet it may be observed, that it would render singular and essential service in removing the numerous and fatal obstacles, that originate in narrowness of soul, niggardly sentiments, mischievous prepossessions, and selfish principles, among the highest establishments and most liberal professions themselves; thus surmounting pernicious authorities, as much mistaken as they are powerful and pertinacious. In particular, the community and mankind at large would thus be able to acquire the important services of the two professions of the law and religion. The first would no longer in-

volve society in distress and trouble; and cause man to degenerate into that unfortunate immorality, which cannot be checked on account of the difficulty of obtaining justice: but be emulous to impart it's services, and open new sources of prosperity and happiness, in order to repair the wrongs, which want of humanity or ambition and the desire of wealth have so long inflicted upon society: imitating the example of the medical profession, which, deprived of its ancient honours, and of the public favour and encouragement, has practised medicine only in order to improve, and render it as beneficial as possible to mankind. The different religions and sectaries would unanimously concur in establishing national perfection and the kingdom of God on Earth, reconciling their discordant opinions, and not permitting themselves to be influenced by any doctrines diametrically opposite to their desirable accomplishment. They would in particular extend the contracted sphere of their divine functions, so far as by means of the discovery of the anatomy of the mind to undertake the due formation and instruction of it. They would at least renew and perpetuate the services which the Magi, as has been already observed, rendered to the Persian empire during the period of it's splendour and greatness, advancing all the energies of the mind and the virtues of the heart, and rendering the people great and illustrious, as the true basis of national strength.

Man, as he constitutes the human species, and is to be individually employed in producing national perfection or the kingdom of God on Earth, which is the second article for consideration, must with this view discharge, as is evident from what has already been stated, a large aggregate of different offices of the highest splendour and importance, on account of which both he and the world were originally created. Therefore the individual, in a state wherein man is ordained to work his own improvement, must exert with incessant courage and alacrity, as far as lies in his power, all the meliorative energy inherent in his species: perfect his moral and intellectual faculties: cultivate the proper feelings and taste most conducive to happiness: regulate the mind in general, guard it against the deceitfulness of passion, provide it with adequate instruction, render it's different parts of due capacity, and enable them to cooperate as a whole with the greatest advantage: discharge a variety of social duties: provide the means of prosperity and rational gratification, and attain to human excellence: be active, brave, and energetic for the support of society and the general welfare, to the interests of which he must be attached with true patriotism and universal philanthropy: provide extensive knowledge and powers in respect of the constituent interests of his species: form great works of every kind, and all the establishments that

may be useful to his country and it's dependencies: discharge the duties which he owes to God as well as to himself: and therefore accomplish all the divine intentions of human creation, and the destined improvement of nature and the world, with the most comprehensive views, strenuous exertions, and exalted sentiments. It is thus that man is intended to constitute actual civilization, and to raise himself above the brutality and imperfections, with which he comes into the world, to a sublunary state of national perfection, by means of a regular and practical system of general welfare. The individual however alone is unequal to finish and consummate so great a work: he is therefore destined, and by his nature disposed, to enter into society, and effect it by means of that cooperation and assistance, which he finds in the various establishments and professions above considered.

Thus there remains for the individual a great proportion of aggregate duties, and an appropriate share of national perfection, which it is incumbent upon him to discharge and perform with the greatest strictness and punctuality. It is not, however, proposed to enter into the detail of them, though so highly important; only to offer some cursory observations upon the meliorative, social, and moral relations of the individual in society: and upon that equable and harmonious culture of the different constituent parts of the mind, negligence and

omission in respect of which are in various respects highly injurious and distressful to society at large, as well as to the individual himself.

It is at this time peculiarly incumbent upon the individual to employ his meliorative powers, as far as his station permits; in order to advance national perfection, and to rectify the present state of public affairs. Both objects would readily be consummated, if every man would thus discharge the proper offices of his station. On the contrary, improvement is universally slighted, and not at all attempted to be carried to it's proper extent; man, both in his public and private capacity, dispensing with it's service, as far as that state of want and incapacity, with which he came into the world, permits. Ministers flee from it as highly dangerous; and thus contribute very materially to deprive the country of the benefit not only of it's destined objects, but of it's great executive powers and energies, which will always remain feeble and impotent, until they are fully exercised and brought to their proper maturity and perfection. The local improvements of the country, which are the real basis of wealth and population, are so far neglected, that the principal and most valuable of our resources are not sought after, even in our agriculture and fisheries, at a period which requires the exhaustion of all the means of national aggrandizement. Men of landed property attend to them neither on their estates nor in the senate. This

man of property wholly neglects them; that immediately opposes them; and another perhaps honours them by the patronage, which he bestows upon some society or institution too feeble and unintelligent, either to comprehend or carry them into effect.

The social relations are, in like manner, ill observed in various respects, though they are of the highest consequence to public and private prosperity and happiness. In particular, the too great prevalence of pride has far more fatal and extensive consequences in society, than are commonly supposed: but it's excesses are less apparent, as the folly of them causes it to be concealed in the most careful manner. It is more directly injurious to general welfare, as it attaches the great, and persons of authority, to the present and the worst in preference to the best system of general welfare, that might be substituted in it's place; is enamoured of the splendid accompaniments and the actual carnage of war, but inimical to the humble arts of peace: causes nations to depend on great names, and men of family and fortune, not on useful talents and practical knowledge: insists on others being as weak as itself, and assuming equal arrogance; and disdains the modesty of genuine merit. It may be extreme in all ranks, and especially in men, as they are eminent by fortune rather than desert: but it is much less frequent in the very highest stations, and subsides as men pos-

sess liberal principles, and become acquainted with themselves. The passion of malignity is still more pernicious than that of pride; and is the direct enemy of human welfare: and it is much more violent in the bosom of society between the same fellow subjects, than the different subjects of rival nations. It is much more infernal in it's nature than is commonly supposed; is highly destructive and excludes compassion, though it certainly has been created for the wisest purposes. It has always been either painted with a lighter colouring than it's proper hue requires, or ascribed to passions of fell and incensed qualities, but more open than itself. It is glaringly depicted in the romance of Caleb Williams, yet appears less virulent and offensive than it ought, by ascribing it to a good heart distracted by the highest sensibility of wounded honour. It is rather more correctly delineated by Fielding, as it deprives Joseph Andrews of the advantage of a Parish School education, because a cousin of his father's landlord had given a vote for a parliament man contrary to the interest of the patron of the school. But even when it rages with the greatest virulence, it is carefully concealed, because it's diabolical nature is too dishonourable to be openly displayed in a state of society not altogether dead to a sense of shame; and because pretensions to good will and friendship are necessary, to furnish it with the opportunity of gratifying it's malice. When extreme, it

operates without any just motives, or any cause of excitement whatever. Hence that persecution which is so frequent in society, and a species of malignity, may be altogether unjustifiable, or if justifiable in a degree, yet may be carried to the most unpardonable lengths of unrelenting cruelty. Merit and misfortune are often wantonly selected for the objects of it's gratification. Excellence may thus be persecuted, either because it has committed no fault, or because it is liable to the errours incidental to humanity. Faults are never spared, even when they are owing to want of education and ignorance: and misfortune is always unpitied by it, and the favourite object of it's triumph. It is far too intimately connected with that species of espionage, which man exercises upon his species in the circle of his residence, particularly in the country; and wherewith curiosity instigates all ranks to learn the particulars of one another's actions, fortune, conduct, and character, giving even subsistence to the beggar, and consideration to the dependant, in return for their communications. Insomuch that malignity universally intrudes upon every man's private life; and no man can sleep secure upon the pillow of innocence and the trophies of his good deeds, without taking due precautions against the malice of an extensive neighbourhood, as well as of the world at large. The links of the great social chain cannot, however, be too closely cemented, or it's

circumference be too comprehensively enlarged, for various other reasons. For it is necessary to consider all the important services, which the several orders mutually render to one another; the ready advancement of the different improvements through the sincere conciliation and hearty cooperation of the higher and lower ranks; the actual virtue exercised in extending real respect and sociality, as far as is consistent with propriety, to all individuals; the general decline of goodness and benevolence, and the prevalence in their stead of the malignant affections throughout the different ranks; the great advantage to the state of securing to individuals like favourable opportunities of advancing their respective welfares, and of protecting them and their rights by equal laws; and the infinite importance of augmenting the national strength by the general union and attachment of the different parts of the community to one another and to their country. Hence we have reason at the present period to congratulate ourselves in possessing the effectual means of perfecting the social relations in christian humility, and christian benevolence. Those valuable political powers that are not of less, but of much higher importance, from the general contempt with which we treat them!

In like manner, and in general from the same motives, the moral relations cannot be too strongly or too universally maintained throughout society;

and will find effectual support in the same religion. They are greatly relaxed throughout the kingdom and empire, though the observance of morality is in all respects favourable to the progress of improvement; and nations cannot become great without it. For if the national attachment to real virtue had not been so sincere in Rome, as to have hindered Lucretia from surviving the loss of her honour, and Brutus from sparing the life of his sons, as conspirators against the liberty of the republic; her citizens, however inspired with the love of their country and warlike courage, could never have been able to render her the mistress of the World. Yet if in numerous instances the labourer and lower orders pay less regard to integrity and to their manual performances, than can be reconciled with human worth and dignity: and if in the search of wealth, and of real or pretended honours, and in the support of fortune and greatness, the desire in the higher ranks to avail themselves of what cannot be justified, be likewise in numerous instances too predominant; the church herself cannot boast of making morality and religion farther respectable, than suits the provision made for it's establishment in the tithes: the law neglects that local jurisprudence and reform of it's profession, which would be the greatest possible support of practical virtue: and it may be observed, that liberal opinions, however they may have prevailed now and in past times, have not in any less but

in a greater degree been accompanied with abusive establishments and corruptions throughout society.

In respect of that important object, an equable and general culture of the different parts of the mind, as they are now made known to us by it's anatomy, it is certainly of essential import, to qualify the individual for the discharge of his duty in accomplishing the perfection of general welfare. It is however no other, than what has been celebrated under the appellations of wisdom and philosophy, than a mental qualification similar to what appears to have been generally attained in the more enlightened ages of the World. Notwithstanding, it depends upon the regulation of a spiritual machine, the parts of which are very numerous, strong, variable, and opposite; and which must be employed to instigate, control, modify, inform, and direct one another, so as to produce a power adequate to all the different purposes of mental creation. Yet the parts are happily constituted for this purpose: and have such proper tendencies, that by due cultivation and instruction a work apparently abstruse and difficult can be readily effected. The knowledge of the passions hitherto altogether unascertained; consequently of their being wonderfully diversified in their species, of their composing the principal part of the mind, agitating man in infinite modes and directions, and actuating him in an almost unlimited sphere of action, so as to produce great good and great

evil; is in itself alone a subject highly interesting to general welfare and society at large. For on the proper regulation of the passions, the intercourse of society, the conduct of man, the manners and national character, principally depend; and the other parts of the mind are principally necessary to direct and control them, though their own sufficiency and insufficiency, independant of the passions, are of material consequence to all human concerns. Not to speak of the violence and deception to which the passions are liable, which are well known, and have been already elucidated, and pointed out as the principal cause of war; it is their various extravagances and perversities, supported and gratified by opulence, to which the decline and fall of empires may principally be ascribed. In private life too we see them produce the most mischievous consequences, as opposite and dissimilar passions are unequally blended, and form not a proper counterbalance. Thus the selfish and liberal passions often contend for superiority, and are highly injurious, as either acquires dominion and verges to excess. In like manner the best dispositions and most powerful intellects may be very fatally overpowered by the force of prejudice. We may even see the same man a compound of pride, malignity, benevolence, and religion; and the examples are infinite, in which vicious passions successfully combat against the virtuous and excellent. The parts of the mind, there-

fore, should be placed on a par with one another: and particular care should be taken, to regulate and restrict the passions by mutually counterbalancing them. This rule extends to all men, whose mental fabrics are as similar as their corporeal. Thus too we have it in our power to render a great service to mankind in general, by approaching and assimilating different national characters; to rectify which, and accommodate them to the universal welfare, and social intercourse of all nations, is an object of the greatest moment. Hitherto it has been preposterously concluded, that they are naturally very different, and cannot be equally brought to perfection; but that some are subject to peculiar vices, others to extraordinary virtues; that the sociable character and politeness of manners, yet inseparable from artifice and deceit, belong to one country, and solid and serious talents with ingenuousness and respect for virtue to another; and that nations are the natural enemies of one another, and even some more so than others: though beyond question their minds are created the same, alike humane and well disposed to each other; and susceptible of the highest improvement, and of being accommodated in all respects to the perfection of universal good and the kingdom of God on earth.

For the human species is in all countries and stations, and in all situations, highly susceptible of improvement. In the most barbarous periods,

Charlemagne and Alfred were able to call forth the individual powers and talents of their respective subjects, even of the lowest orders of them, in such a manner, as to introduce every where throughout their dominions the greatest local improvements, and establish national perfection as far as it was practicable in their reigns. The most wretched arts and insignificant means of instruction employed for the purpose have always produced very powerful effects; and show what the introduction of a perfect system of general welfare is capable of accomplishing. Even common day-schools have always in a surprising manner enlightened the vulgar: and the order of chivalry, it is well known, was in a very unfavourable æra highly instrumental in refining barbarity of manners, establishing justice, and diffusing liberal sentiments, while it encouraged war and led to the most extravagant principles and adventures. Civilization is, as it were, contagious, whether it operate upon an Englishman or a Laplander; and wherever introduced, and attempted to be improved, has always made a rapid progress among nations. In like manner, the substance of improvement, though acquired and matured by profound study and observation alone, yet passes readily afterward through a variety of minute circuitous channels to the shop and the hamlet: and the convictions of philosophy, it is observed, insinuate themselves with a slow but certain progress, even

into popular sentiment. Hence man is always capable of imbibing the highest excellencies and perfections, though he is subject to abandon himself to the grossest passions, to become the enemy of his species, to neglect the cultivation of his mind, and forget his God. The greater knowledge he acquires of what he ought to be, and what is his proper state and constitution, the more reluctant he will be to be different from what he was intended; and his mind duly formed will aspire to the natural perfection of his species. He will not then submit to political guilt, economical imbecility, and the meretricious decoration of a ruinous state of public affairs: he will be dissatisfied with any other than a perfect system of general welfare: and will as happily accommodate himself to the brightest æra of mankind that may be conceived practicable, as he certainly can at present to the most despicable.

The last subject for consideration under the present head is the mutual cooperation of government and the individual, for the purposes of accomplishing by their joint energies such parts of national perfection, and such extensive improvements, as may exceed their respective powers separately employed. Indeed it is always their fortunate cooperation, which produces the welfare of nations. For it is the sovereigns and the magistrates instructing the subject in the knowledge and means of advancing the general welfare, and presid-

ing over wise laws and institutions, and a people acting in concert with them, and forwarding the common weal by their active virtue and useful industry; which constitutes the strength, riches, and happiness of a state. But what at present is intended to be considered, though very summarily, is that extraordinary cooperation of individuals with the legislature or executive government, which is necessary to accomplish those grand national improvements, that have hitherto exceeded the abilities and energies of the private subject; such as the perfection of the agriculture of a kingdom, the complete establishment of our northern fisheries, the improvement of the kingdom of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland, and similar objects. These may be considered as the great resources of nations, that require extraordinary accessions of strength, population, wealth, and aggrandizement, or an extensive increase and abundance of the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of life. That the nation is now capable of employing them for these purposes; and that man is at last able to rise to his high destiny, that of the complete improvement of states and nations, and thus of the whole world, may be considered by Europe as a discovery of Dr. Edwards in the extensive subject of national perfection, which he has shown by different proposals may be carried into complete effect. It depends on three essential points or means:

1. The enabling of government, so far as it is concerned, and it's assistance is in any respect requisite for carrying such objects into effect, to take an active and executive part, by his having improved police in such a manner, as to make it an effectual body of public agency, which instrumentally exercised and employed by government, will give to this far greater executive powers and energies for conducting business and undertakings on a large scale, than individuals themselves of adequate capacities possess for these purposes.

2dly; The giving a nation such a command of capital, as is requisite to enable it to advance to individuals the sums necessary for accomplishing the great objects now proposed, as readily and effectually as individuals do in carrying on their private business and undertakings. The practicability of this Dr. Edwards has proved, inasmuch as he has fully established the truth of the following particulars; that the principal use of finance, as an art, is not to provide the supplies of war, the frequency and existence of which at all are owing to the wretched politics of nations, but to advance capital for the accomplishment of extensive national improvements, and different public purposes in all respects unobjectionable: that the public funds may therefore be employed for borrowing a certain portion of the spare money of a wealthy nation, which being guaranteed by the legislature, ought, and may be lent, on sufficient security, to

individuals, for the execution of those great national improvements, in which it would be imprudent for individuals to embark upon the strength of their own means: that the public may be adequately secured in respect of these loans, which may farther, as is necessary, be so controlled as to be made to answer effectually the purposes of improvement, for which they are advanced to individuals: that those individuals finding their own advantage by such accommodation, will be certain to have recourse to it, and carry the proposed improvements into effect, as well as glad to pay the interest or dividends of those loans, from the burden of which the public will in this case be altogether freed; although in certain cases it may be advisable to remit a part of the interest, nay to grant a certain portion of capital to the borrowers in the way of bounty or otherwise: and, finally, that Great Britain has within herself resources sufficient, as pointed out by him, to pay off her national debt without burdening the subject; but that in thus liquidating her finances, she ought to advance the produce of such resources to individuals for carrying on the great national improvements proposed, and assign them a proportional share to pay of the dividends of her public debt, instead of actually extinguishing this debt, which, however, he should continue to guarantee to her present creditors.

3dly; The forming of practical plans, by which

such national improvements may be carried into complete effect, by loans in the manner proposed, and maintained and upheld at all times, under the superintendance of government; and in which such regulations may be contained as are farther deemed advisable: the practicability of which he has evinced in all the instances necessary.

The fifth head proposed for consideration under the present division is, the true knowledge of religion, as it is intended to discharge the proper offices of devotion, to actuate manual and mental industry, and regulate the general welfare of the human species; and thus accomplish the purposes of national perfection and divine creation, as well as to rectify public affairs, by making an adequate impression of it's sacred duties for those purposes, both upon individuals, and upon the nation at large. Religion may be considered as natural, or revealed, or compounded of both; and as having in each of these branches a very extensive influence upon the interests of mankind, when it is sensibly felt by the human heart. Religion thus includes both the worship of the Almighty, and the active prosecution of a practical system, embracing the interests of man and the views of creation at large, to which there is annexed the strong energy and operation of passion founded on attachment to the supposed divine pleasure: an attachment that therefore earnestly endeavours to conform to his pleasure, by carrying that system

into effect, and supporting it when carried into effect, through proper executive means destined for the purpose. That thus religion at the same time comprehends all our devotional duties, and is competent to the interests of man and the intentions of the Almighty, is fully explained in the work "Peace on Earth," p. 250—256: pages deserving to be recorded among the most important that have been committed to the press, as they show the efficacy and sufficiency of religion to accomplish all the numerous and arduous objects recommended in the present publication. Thus religion is meant to be deeply impressed upon the minds of monarchs, legislatures, executive governments, the public, and individuals, so as to guide their views and inclinations, and lead them to pursue the true interests of human welfare, and the purposes of creation. It is the grossest, as well as the most unfortunate of mistakes, to suppose that religion is no other than an act of worship; and that we are not compelled to discharge civil, political, economical, physical, and philosophical duties, as they are really religious duties. For every thing that contributes to promote the views of human welfare and the creation, is as positively enjoined and sanctioned both by natural and revealed religion, as are the commandments, "Thou shalt not steal:"—"Thou shalt do no murder."

The religion of ancient Greece and Rome was a system of general welfare and civilization, and con-

sisted of different constituent parts, consecrated as deities; enforcing the practice of these parts, accompanied with proper acts of worship, as different duties required by the deities. That perfect system of general welfare, or aggregate of national perfection, which has been fully explained under the preceding division, and, as is there shown, is to be explored and consummated by human industry and talents; is likewise to be considered as religion, and as that natural religion, which it is incumbent on man, conformably to the intentions of the Almighty, to practice, obey, and observe. For whatever is contained in it showing the wonderful goodness, energy, providence, and interference of the Almighty, and being as indispensable to be administered and accomplished by the human species, as the religion and morality contained in it is a duty imposed upon us; the whole may be considered as religion, or the religion of nature. There is besides a comprehensive order of things, or a common order of nature, which forms the outlines of the system. These man is to fill up, as he views the operations of nature, whether in her immediate creation, or in the various effects that result from it, particularly in the conduct and intercourse of the human species: and thus he is to pursue physical, political, economical, and civil rectitude, with as great attention as he does moral. In this manner our Creator has ordained, that we should by cultivation and improvement

establish a perfect system of general welfare, and respect it as religion and as his will: and in it are contained all those elements of practical skill and improvement, that may enable us to carry it into effect.

If any doubts remain, that religion is capable of consisting in the actual practice of a grand and comprehensive system of general welfare, they will be removed, as we proceed next to consider in what revealed religion itself consists. This unquestionably may, and ought, along with devotion, to be comprised in the constitution of the kingdom of God on earth, which is the same as national perfection and the consummation of general welfare produced by natural religion, as already shown; they being the same religion, with this difference, that the latter is weak and imperfect, the former complete, powerful, and irresistible, when it's basis is fully understood. The heads of our revealed religion, as they may be consulted, p. 263, &c. of "Peace on Earth," point out acts of worship, the exercise of devotion, the high moral obligations, the command of the passions, and universal and unremitted beneficence, as essential to the establishment and the actual support of the kingdom of God on earth: and such is their energy and efficacy for accomplishing this grand object, that we ought to employ revealed religion as the most suitable means through them of establishing national perfection, although we should

absolutely deny it's truth. For it certainly is effectual for this purpose, supplying every deficiency that may be found in natural religion. Both, however, have similar views and operations, and are admirably calculated to furnish each other with mutual services. The truths contained in the two divine missions of revealed religion, combined with those of natural religion, constitute such a complete practical religion, as has never in any age been equalled in thought or fancy by persons of the greatest genius and information, whether for divine worship, or for the consummation of earthly prosperity and happiness. The Jews certainly considered their religion in the important light of a practical system of general welfare: and why christians have not employed theirs in a still more eminent degree for this purpose, can be ascribed solely to their being mere nominal or rather mean and interested professors of it, seeking only what advantages they could derive either from following and observing, or neglecting and violating it's most sacred duties and injunctions, at pleasure.

Thus religion should be understood to be the combination of divine worship with strenuous and active employment, engaged in the performance of great, useful, and good actions, and of every kind of improvement; and founded on meliorative efforts, and a passionate attachment to the will and intentions of God in all respects, as these can be fairly presumed from whatever means are in our

power to ascertain them. Thus religion is an instrument perfectly adequate to rectify public affairs, accomplish the perfection of general welfare, and establish the kingdom of God on Earth. Christianity, however, has never yet been employed for these important purposes. When the passion has been present, deeds have been absent: and when the general welfare has been attended to, it has not been advanced with a due degree of the devotional principle. Times like the present have no pretensions to be deemed christian or religious, when sufferings and privations have for so long a period been inflicted on the subject, and multiplied to the extreme, without any endeavours employed to mitigate, or to remove them, by new researches and enlightened views, and the better conduct and management of affairs: and when in fact the cause of improvement is deserted. For neither before God, nor before the tribunal of nations, can their absence be supplied by religious ceremonies, by divine worship, and the warmest effusions of enthusiasm. In truth, that cannot be religion, which is in no way conducive to the national improvements, and the advancement of agriculture; which prevents not the perpetuity of war: permits, nay causes, great states and kingdoms to remain miserable: suffers public philanthropy to decline: counteracts in no sense the progress of malignity throughout society: and is unable to replenish and cause government to abound with

great and good deeds of general advantage to the kingdom and the empire at the present period, although these resources alone, by no means petty measures, or a particular set of men, can rectify affairs and save the nation. It is neither the religion of Christ, nor of the Father, but of the state, of the cabinet, of the legislature, of the nation, which worships it's own pride and prejudices, weaknesses and follies, vices and crimes.

The improvement of religion therefore, is become as necessary as that of any other public object whatever; and is to be adopted as it was in the time of Luther. It appears to have been altogether suspended since his time by the veneration paid to that illustrious divine; however pleasant and desirable it's completion may now be rendered. It has not been considered, that at the period when he arose, the world was too dark and unenlightened, to understand the practicability of realizing the perfection of nations, and establishing the kingdom of God on Earth; and could neither comprehend nor obey the Scriptures, as they enjoin their actual institution. Therefore, as he merely recommended religion to be combined with virtue, a life conformable to what is right, and tolerance, and to be separated from religious errour and vice; he in reality made her subservient only to a limited portion of general welfare, to a part of God's kingdom on Earth. Religion has hitherto in all periods required great improvements. In the dark

ages immediately preceding christianity had not only ceased to be useful, but was become highly injurious to mankind, having been corrupted by ignorance and superstition; by the fury of persecution; the ambition of it's teachers, who aspired to govern the world; and the adoption of the most wild and absurd institutions, as things essential to the practice of christianity. In the illustrious eras of Greece and Rome, religion established on the basis of fictitious deities was too impure to maintain that degree of superstitious reverence which a false religion requires: and philosophy, exercised with temperate sway, and supported by every power of education and opinion, was insufficient to supply it's defects. At the time of Constantine "every principle, that had once maintained the vigour and purity of Rome and Sparta, had long been extinguished in a declining and despotic empire." For similar reasons, as christianity was then adopted as the established religion of the Roman empire, should it at the present period be effectually improved, and restored to it's proper functions, and carried to it's genuine perfection in the British dominions, and throughout the world. Christianity is now only professed by us; is unimpressive, and therefore can no longer be productive of it's proper effects: and does not in the least protect mankind from misery and carnage. Farther, it is the combination of practical improvement

with this religion, that alone can propagate the kingdom of God and national perfection among the different nations of the Earth.

The Protestants by the reformation have as freely as effectually promoted the improvement of christianity in establishing faith and morality on the sole basis of the Scriptures, in collecting with indefatigable labour whatever might contribute to elucidate them, in founding the defence of christianity upon it's history, and in availing themselves of preaching, so as to render it a truly dignified instrument of edification. In like manner very valuable means for the farther improvement of revealed religion are proposed in the third section of the fifth chapter of "Peace on Earth." At a period when the universal kingdom of God is proposed to be established, all religions and sectaries should alike seek to reform, renovate, and improve themselves: and at any rate a mutual conciliation should take place between them. The Romanists therefore should permit the Scriptures to be translated into their respective languages, since revealed religion must ultimately reign over the world, and confound every objection, that has hitherto been urged against it. At the same time it will be greatly our own interest to reconcile our church with that of Rome, both on account of our foreign concerns, and the influence which the latter still retains in our own empire. It is even impious to oppress the general religion of Ireland, which may

be considered as it's established and national religion: and whatever may militate against her improvement, industry, and essential interests, we at length see cannot be accepted before God; but must be diametrically adverse to his religion, which, however diversified, is intended to be the proper instrument of the national perfection of all kingdoms, and of all people, even should they be mistaken most grossly in religion, and be at the same time ignorant and uncivilized. The greatest and the final improvement of religion is the actual combination of it with the proper arts of general welfare, the establishment by this means of the kingdom of God on Earth, and the consummation of the prosperity and happiness of the world. Whatever therefore tends to give additional force to the conviction of the truth of revealed religion must likewise be considered as an improvement of the greatest importance. Such at least must be considered the new and complete view given of revealed religion in "Peace on Earth," which in it's divine perfection shows the impossibility of it's being a falsehood fabricated by those who promulgated it. Such are those proofs, which show the perfect coincidences of the prophecies in respect of the kingdom of God, and of the times and means of it's establishment mentioned in Scripture, with the means at this period discovered, which are adequate to constitute and carry it into effect; with the present being the actual period fixed in Scripture for

it's establishment; and with the most urgent policy of establishing on our part that kingdom in the particular mode enjoined by Scripture! Such that happy vindication of the truth of the Scriptures offered by the above work, which, reconciling the purposes of creation, including those of the human species, to our most sublime conceptions of the excellencies of the Deity, now leaves no farther room for cavil and doubt, than what is requisite to exercise faith in our earthly state of trial and probation. Thus revealed religion will be found to correspond in the most perfect manner with the definition above given of religion in general: comprising the different subjects of general welfare, with the means of accomplishing these, in that kingdom of God, and state of national perfection, which it proposes; furnishing the most powerful excitements for carrying them into effect, in faith, grace, and the other adjuncts attached to it; and inspiring at the same time the highest gratitude, love, and devotion possible toward the Almighty, who in the religion he has given us has provided every thing necessary for the consummation of earthly prosperity and happiness. May we therefore, in making here the improvements wanted at the present period, on one hand temper the errours of an ardent imagination, which have been often fatal to religion, by coolness and sobriety of sentiment, by proper discipline and piety, and the serious and industrious practice of general welfare!

On the other, may all vain abstract points of doctrine, austerity of manners and principles, idle prejudices, and absurdities, and malignant wishes of partial exclusion, be sacrificed, in a universal and common effort for realizing the whole views of creation, to the true interests of devotion, as well as of the world and of ourselves, at this awful crisis!

The last head proposed to be considered under the present division is the means which different countries have of contributing reciprocally to their mutual welfare, and maintaining peace, harmony, and friendship together; thus of effecting the improvement of one another; of adding to the national perfection of each the services that may be derived from the national perfection of the rest; and of establishing the grand era of mankind in the universal improvement of all nations; with the outlines of a proposal for forming a permanent peace between Great Britain and France, which will be their common interest; and is farther requisite to establish such a melioration in the concerns of the whole world, as is intended.

The subject now proposed is too important to be omitted, because it is essential to the great and leading object of universal improvement. Yet the full consideration, or even a general view of it, is inadmissible within the intended limits of this publication. It is therefore only possible to show by an adequate specimen, that there are means com-

petent to effect, and thus to establish, national perfection and the kingdom of God throughout the World. A number of these means therefore will be summarily mentioned, or rather a list will be given of them; to which will be subjoined a few general observations: and the reader's own reflection will be able to determine upon their sufficiency for their intended purposes, by consulting the works* that treat of them at large.

Among the means of establishing national perfection, and maintaining due intercourse and permanent peace between the different countries of the World, may be comprised: 1st, The institution of national perfection in every country by it's own means, as mentioned under the five preceding heads: namely, by a perfect executive system of general welfare; the employment of practical improvement as an art; the due exertions of the proper parties competent to exercise such art; the advancement of a requisite capital; and the services of religion, as an effectual instrument of improvement, industry, and universal good, as well as a sacred duty of devotion. 2dly, Regular agency employed, as missionaries, both to institute, and to convey and diffuse the knowledge of national perfection throughout different countries in a manner as disinterested as possible. 3dly, A combination

* The works mentioned in the fourth Appendix, and the Political Interests of Great Britain, are referred to here.

of different governments, and at least of those of Europe, for effecting the different purposes now proposed; and particularly for extending national perfection by their united interests, and mutually protecting their foreign establishments formed with this view: and the cooperation of Great Britain and France, especially in forwarding mundane improvement from the two centres of Assyria and Egypt, as it would be almost certain to secure the success of the project. 4thly, A general assembly composed of one suitable and independant character sent by each government to some proper central place, who may form a society for the purpose of cultivating and deliberating upon the means of advancing the national perfection, and the good of mankind; who may likewise be consulted, and whose wisdom may often render essential service, in respect of incidental differences and complaints, and political events that occur between different nations, and are almost always decided by themselves with passion, instead of policy and due attention to their real interests; and whose appointments and salaries may be considered as both an incentive and a reward due to merit and virtue, rather than a burden upon their respective states. 5thly, The productions of different countries, as these are contrived by Providence to be mutually pleasurable and useful to one another in a very extraordinary manner and degree, and thus naturally connect them by interest: and as they

would be infinitely increased in quantity, improved in quality, less subject to adulteration, and infinitely enlarge the limits of commerce in the proposed universal improvement of the world. 6thly, The profits acquired by commerce, as they would be greatly extended, in exchanging these productions. 7thly, The infinite advantage to one nation of all other nations being rich and prosperous; an advantage much more valuable to a commercial power than frequent victories and extensive conquests: consequently the importance of the universality of national perfection, of a flourishing state of the World, and of permanent peace. 8thly, The due regulation of the power and strength of nations, and the maintenance of harmony and peace between them by happy expedients and comprehensive views, which embrace impartially the rights of all mankind, including the duties of political wisdom, virtue and liberality, and, as is now explored, are capable of reducing politics to a system, and of conciliating nations through their mutual interests. 9thly, The innate attachment and philanthropy of man to his species and to the advancement of meliorations of all kinds, as the natural bond of nations: and as thus preventing wars altogether: or as rendering these less frequent and milder, by the alleviation of the horrours and animosities which they produce, by refraining from plunder, and by due discipline: as highly favourable to improvement upon a scale sufficiently ex-

tensive to embrace the interests of the World: and as a summons, that would cause all nations to welcome the call of national perfection. 10thly, The due consideration of what losses and injuries are incurred by war: the importance of national improvement at home, as this renders countries less dependant on foreign advantages, and in many respects less liable to war: and the great views of national perfection and domestic improvement, as they would divert the attention of empires from war to the proper objects of their true glory and advantage; and in particular leave commerce to be subservient to it's fundamental purposes of exporting the surplus of produce, and importing all desirable articles, and not of procuring riches to consume in carnage and devastation. 11thly, The happy exercise of the diplomatic arts, incompetence in which is attended with very serious evils. 12thly, The proper understanding of our political interests, which are however so often unknown and mistaken. 13thly, The union, and confederation of different nations, and on the contrary their avoiding of all intercourse, as either may be favourable to peace and improvement. 14thly, The causing of peace and commerce to be the interest of nations, and the conciliation of their interests by proper means. 15thly, The command of God and the injunctions of religion, to propagate national perfection, and establish the kingdom of God on Earth: the singular construction of re-

ligion, both natural and revealed, not less than of all the other works and intentions of God, for the advancement of general welfare, as it embraces the most effectual means for this purpose: and the energy which the reduction of all religions to three great species, the christian, mohammedan, and shamanian, and finally to one, may enable us to employ for perfecting the improvement of the World. 16thly, The proper distribution of tracts of country among nations, as these are capable of improving the World: and the propriety of actually compelling different powers, especially those hostile to the general interests of the World, to concur in the proposed views of mundane improvement, instead of continuing adverse to them. 17thly, The establishment of colonies; and the indulgent treatment and assistance to be extended to them. 18thly, Domiciliation, and migration, with the arts of exciting individual industry by public agency, societies, furnishing capital, &c.; as they may severally be favourable to improvement. 19thly, The investment of industry and capital in foreign settlements and improvements, as a speculation calculated for making great returns. 20th, Means of preserving health in foreign countries. 21st, Arts for carrying on friendly and extensive intercourse with the inhabitants of uncivilized countries.

Thus, perhaps, it will no longer be controverted, from the due consideration of the specimen now

given, that there are adequate means of establishing national perfection and the kingdom of God with permanent peace over the whole World. For the means now exhibited are alone unquestionably sufficient for these purposes, if we will but respect them, as much as we are attached to the practice of war; and pursue them, as the sources of true heroism and renown, with a very moderate portion of that industry and ingenuity, which we bestow upon military affairs. Let us be resolute in the arts of practical improvement: and by the means that may be provided, every thing wanted to complete the proposals of the present work can be readily and effectually accomplished. The means, as operative in themselves, are sufficient both to introduce and to constitute national perfection: but the additional aid of religion, which is preeminent, and paramount to them all, is a power calculated to give the whole of them a force and energy, that are able to overpower all obstacles; and cannot be resisted, as it carries along with it unquestionable conviction of their divine origin, which is already proved in this publication and elsewhere. The whole contents of a complete system of general welfare, evidently proceeding from God, and being positively ordained by him, are consequently referred to religion, which has the charge of providing for whatever is so sanctioned by him. It's sacred inspiration thus aids each subject, article, and effort of general welfare, and gives them

powers far exceeding human. Thus religion may claim a right to become real and universal, and produce the greatest and most extensive effects, comprising every act of improvement, and every incentive to it. Yet we are not to bring religion in a direct manner to perfection by seeking to substitute the christian in the place of all others, against the wills and inclinations of those who profess them. Our first object must be to accomplish national perfection every where, and reconcile all religions and sectaries to it.

Under the protection and powerful energies of religion reconciled, as is elsewhere shown, to the most pleasurable, as well as sceptical feelings of mankind, what may not be expected to ensue? and can universal good fail to be completed throughout the World? Certainly the institution of national perfection cannot fail in any state or empire, where it is attempted to be introduced in the manner proposed according to the five preceding heads; and by the means mentioned in the above list: and farther, by consulting the work entitled "Peace on Earth," p. 452—463, it may be seen what internal aids there are in every civilized nation for forwarding it's introduction. Would not the individual every where welcome the reign of national improvement, born as he is with a powerful meliorative disposition, and in a helpless naked state in every respect, wherein all his future acquisitions depend upon this disposition? Will he

not be happy and rejoice in studying and following a religion that is a practical and pleasurable system of the public and individual interests of mankind? With a due sense of religion, and under it's direction in the enlightened state, which the wide diffusion of the knowledge of general welfare will produce among mankind, shall we not be enraptured and delighted with it: or shall we in preference be transported with the narrated horrours of war, because they display vast efforts of courage and exertion, extraordinary spirit and adventure, bold and daring deeds, infinite hazards and dangers, prodigality of life, and immense destruction of mankind? Shall we rather reverence the statesman, because he triumphantly tramples on the rights, prosperity, and happiness of individuals, and of nations? Or shall we not at last rescue from contempt the civil and pacific, the beneficent and meliorative character, and consider it as the pride and ornament of society, and the surest proof of magnanimity, and of capacity to serve mankind? Would wars then any longer originate in mad revenge, ungovernable ambition, and downright villainy and avarice? Religion at least would explain to man the doctrines of passionate deception; and no longer leave him a brute, as the minister engages in war from the violence of his own passions, and the people are infuriated to support his wars from the inordinate passions, which he knows how to excite in them by his artifices. At

least executive governments and senates would spare time to cultivate the true political interests of their country; and explore the useful knowledge, the proper expedients, the comprehensive views, the energy and justness of thought, which are necessary to avoid war, and render peace permanent by establishing it on sound principles of policy. Principles so truly desirable, because the want of them exposes us to an endless and rapid succession of the most fatal and unnecessary wars. Thus at last the durable foundations of peace would be explored: and nations being convinced of the sincere adoption of the genuine principles of perpetual amity, would again acquire confidence in each other: and Great Britain and France both attempt and be able to negotiate a permanent peace. Thus under the awful sanction of religion would not all nations, from natural philanthropy, the conviction of interest, and other sufficient and powerful motives, at length consider themselves as one great whole, the prosperity and happiness of which are the real advantage of every nation individually? Would not every nation raising the largest quantity of productions possible on which her industry could be most profitably employed, wherewith to supply the general mart of the World, and satisfy her multiplied wants to the greatest advantage, thus carry commerce to heights hitherto unknown, open every where the sources of abundance, and extend improvement and perfection over the

Globe? Would Great Britain then be jealous of the general improvement of the World, or even of the improvement and aggrandizement of France? Would she strive to perpetuate war in cooping up France in such narrow limits as she has attempted, by the detention of Malta, the seizure of St. Domingo, the dismemberment of France and the new kingdoms with which she and her allies have proposed to surround and contract her frontiers? Would she not in this case trust rather to her own aggrandizement, and the extension of her own internal and maritime resources; to the gratitude of her own subjects, and to subjects who might hence be trusted, and taught the use of arms from their early youth, that invaluable resource! than to the effecting of the deterioration and ruin of the French Empire itself? On the other hand, are not the French people themselves already wedded to the interests of national improvement and peace, inasmuch as these were the real objects of the revolution? Is the emperor of the French ignorant, that permanent peace, and the public and private prosperity and happiness of his subjects, are the true interests of his own reign, and of the Dynasty of his successors? Is such a religion as that, the principles of which have already been detailed, to be afraid of infidels; to be afraid of a people who have recalled revealed religion, when it appeared in the eyes of all Europe to have been actually extirpated and expelled from their coun-

try, as the consummation of the revolution itself? Thus at last we shall look back to past history; seek to eschew the evil and embrace the good it unfolds; and naturally comparing what might farther have been done by means of the arts and principles of national perfection, which are now proposed; and seeing them as they are described in this work, competent to their proper and grand important object of extending national perfection to all countries, and sufficient to have realized it long before the present day, lose no farther time, not an hour, to take them by the hand, and carry them into universal effect.

It is in the next place proposed to offer the outlines or basis of the plan, that has been announced, for forming a permanent peace between Great Britain and France: and this will be included under nine positions. These, if duly attended to, will establish the five following conclusions; 1st, That political means and principles, too like those on which we proceed, being false, dangerous, ruinous, adverse to the general welfare, injurious to ourselves and all nations, prodigal of wealth, impolitic, perfidious in their nature, and absurd, nugatory, and inefficacious for their alleged purposes, must necessarily cause constant war, deterioration, misery, or destruction. 2dly, That the political means and principles recommended by the positions, and altogether practicable, are natural to humanity, moral, expedient, highly advantageous both to

ourselves and all nations, capable of effectually aggrandizing kingdoms and infinitely advancing commerce, permanent, and competent, adapted, and actually intended to establish the national perfection of the World, and the reign of peace on Earth. 3dly, That by their means a permanent peace, in every sense durable, may and should be formed between France and Great Britain. 4thly, That Scripture points out, and earnestly recommends those political means and expedients, and the peace proposed to be formed from them; and with such wonderful coincidences, as must cause a peace concluded conformably to them, to make a strong and lasting impression upon the parties concerned, unless they are determined to oppose the will of God, and the moral duties which both his Word and Nature have alike strongly sanctioned. 5thly, That the issue of the winter war of 1805 has finally imposed upon us the necessity of forming such a peace according to such means and principles, unless we are wholly blind to our political interests. The whole is extracted from Dr. Edwards' proposals on the subject: and as he apologizes for the freedom, with which on different occasions he vindicates the political conduct of the French against that of the British Government, and highly blames the latter, with the view of reconciling the two nations for ever, on account of this being absolutely necessary to the success of the great cause of his God, which he maintains, and of es-

tablishing national perfection and the kingdom of God on Earth; so for similar reasons, I may be conscientiously presumptuous, and find myself obliged, on the present occasion, to condemn in the severest manner the conduct of those, who have had the management of the affairs of my country. For I am in the situation of an honest man, who wishes to effect a perfect reconciliation between his friend and adversary: and, like him, must tell my country freely in what she is culpably wrong, and in what her antagonist is just and right. Even her applause, should I ever have the honour of obtaining it from her senate itself, can be estimable only, as the rectitude of her proceedings in respect of the cause which I support may stamp genuine value upon it.

The positions I am here to state, the truth of which Dr. Edwards has fully proved in proposing his plan for effecting a permanent peace between the two countries, and to which as a subject, that cannot here be discussed at large, I refer the reader on every dubious point; are, 1st, That all nations are the natural friends, and none the natural enemies of one another*; that a sufficient number of in-

* It cannot be fairly presumed, that they are natural enemies, because wars have been frequent in the mysterious periods of our religion, in those of Moses and Joshua, who were men raised by God himself to the high stations they occupied. For it by no means follows thence, that Mr. Pitt, and ministers like him, are justified by the policy they may choose to adopt, in rendering war perpetual.

stances, if it be necessary to allege any, are recorded in history in proof of France being capable of entertaining the most liberal and pacific sentiments toward Great Britain: that she has hitherto in every period of the revolution been affectionately inclined to enter into a permanent peace with Great Britain, propitious to all our real interests: and that it has been we ourselves, who have prevented such a peace taking place, from a mistaken policy.

2dly, That the prosperity and happiness of every country in the World are the foundations of the prosperity and happiness of rich and powerful countries, that carry on an extensive commerce; and that France has been too well enlightened during the revolution not to know the fact, and has conducted herself toward every country, including Great Britain, conformably to this principle, as far as a cogent necessity, and temporary urgency, arising from external and incidental circumstances unavoidable on her part, have not obliged her to act otherwise.

3dly, That no peace can be permanent between two great nations circumstanced like Great Britain and France, unless by securing and providing for their separate interests: that there are in the World, as is pointed out elsewhere, sufficient means * for

* As a partial illustration, it may be observed here, that those means, Malta being retained, may be considered sufficient, which were settled by the peace of Amiens, and may farther

gratifying both in these respects: that they may be conceded to France with perfect security, however they may contribute to her aggrandizement, since our immense resources of wealth and real population, and particularly our maritime resources, will infinitely more than counterbalance such an increase of power; and since it is our wisest policy and immediate interest, to bring them forth to their greatest possible extent, independently of the consideration of being thus able to avoid or support a future war: and that no apprehensions to the contrary, whatever sway they may have had upon our councils, can in policy justify our continuing war on that account.

4thly, That we have for a long time past followed a political system fatal and adverse to our foreign interests, as well as to those of the World at large; and this in particular, as we have been infatuated with an ill-founded, futile, ostentatious,

be completed by the introduction of national perfection, and universal improvement, including the recivilization of what may be called the great ancient World; by the services, which these can afford, being principally distributed between two nations, that alone can injure and benefit each other in an essential degree; and by these advantages, and other important inducements derived from commerce, as carried on between themselves, being made the basis of rendering the two nations infinitely serviceable, and of preventing them from being infinitely injurious and destructive to each other, and therefore of causing them to be irresistibly interested in the maintenance of permanent peace.

and arrogant system, which has aspired by maritime domination, continental war, and pecuniary influence, to govern the World, to engross a monopoly of it's industry and commerce, which, if it could be obtained, would prove ruinous to our own manufacturers and merchants, by ruining our customers, and to sacrifice the wealth so gained only to the support and extension of war and such influence and predomination: and that it is in all respects the reverse of that political system, which we should pursue with foreign powers, and is founded on actual neglect of cultivating politics as a science, and of being acquainted with the various principles, expedients, and comprehensive views, which they embrace, so as to be able to follow a judicious and enlightened policy competent at all times to our true interests.

5thly, That France was not the aggressor in the infraction of the treaty of Amiens, that such infraction was not justified on our part by the political motives which induced it: and that the inferiour and subsidiary causes assigned for it are of such insufficiency and invalidity, as to supersede the necessity of enumerating them; and that in particular it could answer no purpose, except to inflame the minds of our own people, to abuse with every possible device, and to the grossest extent, the French Emperor as a usurper, and the worst of men, this being a question that belonged entirely to the French themselves, and on which

they were and are qualified in all respects to determine.

6thly; That the balance of power, as it was fixed on the continent before the winter war of 1805, by different treaties between the French empire on the one hand, and the different powers of Germany and Russia on the other, being conducted with common address and good management, and a plain and simple policy, was adequate to support the national independance and true interests of the latter parties, or of Europe at large: that France was not then in a situation to dispense with the different external barriers, which she retained at the time of concluding those treaties, and can render them independant, or less dependant on her, only in consequence of the other great powers adopting a sincere and friendly policy in respect of her interests: and that the late British ministry were convinced of the truth of the former of these facts, since it must have considered the confederation of the great continental powers to have been actually superiour to the strength of France, otherwise it would not have attempted to overpower her by it's means, and thus hazarded the independence of Europe.

7thly; That all plans of policy, and the employment of force of every kind, directed to humble France, to prevent her from being a great empire, and cause her to be an inferior power and unequal competitor to Great Britain; in fact directed to

oppose the course of the torrent, which has increased with her prosperity, instead of uniting our kindred stream, and flowing together with hers in peace and harmony to the grand and infinite ocean of universal good; have hitherto always failed, and it is now certain from the present state of France, as well as past experience, will always fail, however great and extraordinary our efforts may be to give them their intended effects: that they have always and will always be attended with such expense and suffering on our part, as are far greater than any possible advantages we can attain from them: and that there is every reason to conclude, in truth absolute certainty, that they will finally, and after no long period, produce either extreme misery, and deterioration, or the destruction of the empire. Our present desperate measures and incessant opposition to her views being continued will at length oblige her, enabled as she is by her great physical strength, to form a superiour naval force to that of this country, or at least a navy which may so far outnumber * ours, as to enable her to land armies

* Her navy is sure in the end to outnumber ours in a very dangerous manner, even if we destroy three or four fleets more in the present war. Let us also in time consider what advancement the naval energies of her subjects, the courage of whom at sea is sufficiently desperate, may receive in the economical habits and improvements of the country; in new means that may be devised to increase them; in the fertile conceptions of

either in Great Britain, or in Ireland, which we cannot oppose. This however is an effort, that is unnatural to her, and which she will never attempt, if we will permit her the enjoyment of her rights, and the means of prosperity she may justly claim; and if we do not seek to wrong and oppress her by a maritime ascendancy, which we may always retain, provided we exercise it as seldom as possible, and always according to a wise system of policy.

8thly; That in consequence of our attempting to humble and overpower France in the manner described in the two preceding articles, and of the unfavourable termination of the winter war of 1805 to Austria and Russia, as well as of the preceding policy of France, the tide of the national aggrandizement and civilization of the World, in it's present effects and future consequences, flows and will flow irresistibly to the eastern part of the World, comprehending all the ancient civilized regions; and is therefore become a concern of the greatest moment to the interests of Britain: that on this account, as well as from other motives fully stated and considered in Dr. Edwards' works, it becomes essentially necessary, that Great Britain should take her share and place as early as possible in the midst of the great improvements that will ensue

an ingenious and heroic nation; in the incessant efforts and grand views of the emperor; and the accession of new states of unquestionable maritime prowess.

in that important tract of the World, by agreeing to establish the kingdom of Assyria in Asia Minor; and of course by entering into the most friendly and perfect system of peace with France, and consenting to cede Gibraltar to Spain, should this be necessary, in order to retain Malta, and by permitting Egypt to be colonized by France, in order to be able to form an everlasting peace: and that the establishment of different new dynasties on the continent, and even of new kingdoms at Constantinople, in Greece, &c., and the aggrandizement of Austria and other powers, which may weaken Russia, a power that will otherwise in the end become dangerous to Europe as well as to our Indian dominions, ought not to alarm us; may be highly serviceable, as favourable to the permanence of peace, and the establishment of national perfection; and that we may derive from them all advantages, which it may be reasonable and desirable to expect, in consequence of our proposed friendship with France. Any other policy we may embrace, her extensive influence or command over the continent, and the various accommodations she can procure to the different powers, will render as fatal to our Asiatic empire and interests in general, as that now recommended will be permanently advantageous to us, and natural between France and us. For the cooperation of both is necessary to the consummation of each other's prosperity and happiness; and is essential to allow France to

enjoy the freedom and commerce of the seas, without experiencing the scourge of Great Britain, which she must always dread and avoid, until she has either actually destroyed it, or can depend upon the wisdom of our policy and our friendship, upon our knowing our own interests, and having so much regard to justice and benevolence, as always to pursue them; in fine, upon our never striving to be infuriated, infatuated, and impolitic.

9thly, and lastly; That the establishment of the above kingdom of Assyria in favour of Great Britain is positively enjoined by the divine Word; is by this ordered to be effected at the present period; is absolutely intended by Heaven to take place, and to cooperate with the formation of that perfect system of peace between us and France which is now proposed, and for numerous political reasons, that are of the highest importance, and that cannot by any means be overturned, ought, whatever efforts and expense may be necessary, to be forthwith accomplished; as is fully shown in the works mentioned in the Appendix, and particularly that entitled "Peace on Earth."

Thus from motives both political and divine; *from induction founded on the most comprehensive basis;* from every motive herein comprised being founded on certainty and self evidence, or being absolute facts and sufficiently obvious: from the chances on one hand of a peace, founded on those positions, as likely to be injurious and of short continuance, being highly improbable, im-

possible, unless through impolicy, ignorance, and villainy combined, and at any rate incapable of making us worse than we otherwise should be; and from the chances on the other, of such a peace not adopted unavoidably proving either our absolute ruin, or extreme deterioration and misery: from all other views and measures that can be proposed being absurd and vain, and no other alternative left; it incontrovertibly follows*, that such a perfect treaty of peace is to be formed as is above recommended, with complete good will and friendship, and the most intimate union possible. It may be so formed as to exclude suspicion itself, otherwise indeed the peace proposed is impracticable. It must not only be effective, but sincere, liberal, and undistracted with doubts and fears. We then must no longer, in lord Henry Petty's words used in a late speech, and we shall have no occasion to do so, call France "that power, which it is the interest of Great Britain above all things to oppose:" or imagine, as Mr. Fox did at the same time, that "Austria is that second military power of the continent, to which we have looked, and to which we have yet to look for the support of this country, and of Europe in general." We ought the more earnestly to accommodate ourselves to this proposal, as we now either openly or

* The above positions prove the five conclusions premised: and for what farther arguments can be adduced in this tract, see end of Introduction.

tacitly acknowledge, that we have treated France with the most oppressive, cruel, and worst of usage. For the nation at last acknowledges, that Mr. Pitt's political system is in all respects to be condemned: and whatever it was, all it's fury and malignity, misery and destruction, were levelled against France, though they actually rebounded upon his country. The above proposals for a permanent peace are in truth the views of Providence, such as Dr. Edwards has traced them through a series of surprising length, and wonderful intricacy: and it is necessary to continue his researches to the present day in respect of the perfect and friendly union he intends to produce between the two nations, by observing; that the naval victory of Trafalgar, succeeded by two other inferiour yet still more complete, shows Great Britain may be capable of overpowering and distressing France at all times, even in the most vital parts, as well as the original folly of the present war, and the security and permanence of a future peace; that the battle of Austerlitz shows France can remove herself, or effectually remove with the aid of Great Britain, every obstacle which may oppose the advancement of national perfection throughout the continents of Europe and Asia; and that the two empires are destined to be cordially united for the purpose of establishing the kingdom of God on Earth, and national perfection, over the whole World. Even the death of Mr. Pitt may be considered as providential, in order to favour the in-

troduction and the progress of national perfection. The political system, which he so long pursued, has rendered the services of the latter indispensable. It was always ridiculous by the effects which it never ceased to produce; but could not be actually exposed to contempt, until it destroyed itself in the total miscarriage of the winter war. His argumentative powers, and the brilliancy accompanying them, which was not superfluous only because it was necessary for their support, were however still able to maintain it's ascendancy, and cement it's fragments. So well suited were they to the taste of a people regarding a gaudy figurative language, instead of the solid substance of general welfare; and so strongly had they imbued their minds with false doctrines, that the nation could be enlightened only by his death, or by an angel specially commissioned from Heaven to introduce the code of national perfection.

It remains in concluding the consideration of the last article of the present division of the subject to remark, that the summary view above given of it has by necessity, owing to it's length, been arranged under different heads, and in a methodical manner. Such an arrangement however fully confirms a preceding assertion, that each of the twelve subjects of general welfare, and even politics, are regular sciences. When this is the case, it is not surprising, that a novel and perfect plan of peace is now offered for the lasting harmony and conciliation of two nations, which by interest and by

nature are real friends, and, solely by the most weak, absurd, and false policy, irreconcilable enemies; and that there are found systematic means of establishing the earthly kingdom of God over the whole globe. Thus national perfection is able to proceed on her course strong and vigorous, like the Sun himself: will at last establish perpetual prosperity and happiness on Earth; and encircle the whole World with her genial embraces and propitious powers.

You, who are my countrymen; and ye different nations on the face of the globe! You, my king, and all ye sovereigns of the World! Ye legislatures of the British empire and of all other countries! Ye different orders, ranks, and professions of society, including the most sacred! In particular, ye heads of the different local divisions of the United Kingdom, whatever ye are styled! And lastly, ye great and distinguished characters of every class! permit me, UNDER THE LAST DIVISION OF THE PRESENT WORK, to address you both generally and particularly concerning the important offices and duties, which it is incumbent on you to discharge at this awful period, for the purpose of rectifying public affairs, of completing the national and individual prosperity and happiness of your own country and all other countries whatever, and of fulfilling the divine views of the creation, by means of the establishment of national perfection, and the king-

dom of God on Earth, as these are actually one and the same object and design. Permit me then to say to you, referring you for the detail of my reasons to the preceding pages, that it is incumbent upon you, no longer to be guided by the system or pretended system of public measures so long pursued, but to introduce and carry into effect that perfect and practical system of general welfare, which is the proper instrument of accomplishing those important views, as has already been explained to you at sufficient length. A system of measures, not of men, which comprises the greatest national and individual services and improvements in such a manner as to constitute what may be properly called national perfection. The system intended by Providence for serving man in this World, but which he is to discover and complete, in order to effect his own prosperity and happiness! A system grounded on self-evidence, and warranted to be right by nature, divine revelation, and experience! A system comprehensive as imagination can conceive, and as solid and fundamental as truth itself, the execution of which requires only the common sense and energetic efforts of mankind!

You must therefore extend your attention to all persons, who can form grand and beneficent plans of general welfare and national aggrandizement, as the constituent parts of such a system. You must support their proposals with real virtue

and magnanimity: and, in order to vindicate them, you must be truly sensible to all the various excesses and modifications of political crime and imbecility, as well as to the efficacy of truth and justice, of the efforts of genius, and of goodness and humanity in advancing the actual prosperity and happiness of mankind! Likewise they who are entrusted with the management of your affairs must in future have grand views, and great minds, and true greatness of character, as well as yourselves: and neither must be startled at the name of improvement and innovation. For you ought to recollect what your God himself tells you, "in introducing My kingdom on Earth, I make all things new;" and that there can be no possible objection against whatever is necessary to effect this the greatest of all human objects! You must therefore bestow labour and cultivation by the medium of proper agents upon the compilation and completion of the intended system! You must protect it's operations and proposals! You must be unanimous in carrying them into effect: and support your own cause, and that of your sovereign, and of your God, by real performances, and adequate efforts of national improvement, depressed neither by fear, awe, disappointment, nor indifference!

It ought more particularly to be observed, that the above is a real and executive system adequate to it's professions, which human abilities and the

resources of the kingdom are sufficient to support, and readily carry into effect. It is no visionary and pretended system of general welfare: no combination of romantic notions; or of plausible arguments, and incidental measures, such as eloquence, the urgency of the moment, vain glory, and lucrative views of gain and monopoly, may suggest: but a happy aggregate of the most powerful energies, upheld by regular and finished plans of improvement, directed to the universal, national, and individual good of all mankind, the advantages of which, as thus comprehensive, and embracing every possible interest of man, become infinitely increased, and at the same time are rendered durable for ever. Thus it is the reverse of what has hitherto been pursued for the welfare and glory of nations: it is the system of their real welfare and glory. For we have hitherto on all occasions looked up to ministers instead of measures, and have permitted their interests, humours, and thirst for renown, to predominate over the general welfare of individuals, nations, and the World at large. The history of all ages, but that of the present reign in particular, demonstrates this fact in the most glaring colours. The eight eventful periods, into which it may be divided*, exhibit a long succession of ministers of every possible description, varied and changed to no purpose, because they

* See "Peace on Earth," p. 379—422.

conducted public affairs, not by a real system of general welfare, but by mere conjectures, the impulse of their own wills and passions, precedents, and the routine of office. If it may indeed be said, ministers act by a system, it is, as the event always shows, sanguine and cruel, weak and desperate, fanciful and theoretical; not a practical system, such as the Almighty has intended and provided for the public and private prosperity and happiness of all nations, and for supporting the independance and greatness of our own empire at this awful period. They have always disdained to employ the devices and arts of practical improvement, and the inventions, discoveries, and original conceptions, on which the Almighty has thought proper to render that system dependant. They have even suppressed the exercise of these talents in the legislature, and wholly rely on the labours of private individuals, as the time may render it unavoidable to have recourse to new means and measures. Nay, as if political improvement and deviation from practices most repugnant to humanity were actual crimes, they have boasted, that they followed the sanguinary steps of their predecessors, and pursued the same unfortunate paths as they pursued. For the present war has been intended to be, and is or was actually a repetition of the last. But, on the most promising calculations of it's probable success, it was infinitely less likely to effect it's purpose; because

the French were able to defend their empire, by the acquisitions which they had made in the preceding war.

Thus the dearest interests of mankind have been sacrificed to mere names; to men called great*,

* The truth of the inapplicability of the epithet great is obvious, when we sift the merits of ministers and others, who have risen to the highest pinnacle of fame, by common means repugnant to the sytem proposed. The late Mr. Pitt, as he has pretensions to be styled great, may be considered as a politician, a financier, a benefactor to society, an orator, and a lawyer. He cannot be mentioned as a politician however without exciting disgust: for the continental powers possessed a strong barrier against France, of which he deprived them by employing it a second time to dismember the French empire; and if he had succeeded in this attempt, he would beyond a doubt have subjected at least Europe, Asia, and Africa, to the sovereign will and disposal of another ambitious and less civilized nation than that from which he affected to deliver them. The projects he adopted as a financier, which entitle him to honour, were principally the plans for the redemption of the public debt, and for raising the supplies within the year and the income tax: these however he borrowed from others without making any acknowledgment to their authors. Any other honours that may farther be claimed on his behalf in respect of financial ability perhaps should wholly be ascribed to the number of plans and hints for new taxes, which private individuals profusely pour into the treasury from every quarter of the kingdom; to the great room there was and is for improvement in respect of taxation, insomuch that the attempt to make improvements here cannot fail to meet with considerable success; to taxes being considered as wonderful exertions by the weakness of our understandings in civil and economical affairs, though they are in

not from real merit, but from the appendages of greatness. For them, and not for our own good, and the great cause of the divine creation, we have sweated and toiled, murdered and oppressed one another; endured the hardest laws and the most oppressing administration of them; born the heaviest taxes, and submitted to infinite privations. To them even our legislators have abandoned the

general mere impositions of burdens, with regulations which the law has long suggested, and the malignity of some individual or other is always acute enough to supply; and to the number of inferiour officers concerned in the finances, whose familiarity with these must be competent to furnish great assistance to any minister. No claim can be made on his behalf, as a benefactor to society: and he certainly was an inveterate enemy, whom no endeavours could render less unpropitious, to the perfect system of general welfare now proposed. He was educated as an orator and lawyer, it is well known, from his infancy. Yet in the former capacity, his name will never be mentioned with those of Demosthenes and Cicero, and only as he gratified the false taste and perverted understanding of his country with long, argumentative, and figurative speeches. As a lawyer, his name was never heard of; at the bar he never distinguished himself: and extraordinary praise cannot justly be assigned to him or any person, who, possessed of strong natural parts, rises in the line of his profession to the excellencies, which are usually attained in it. But why should we thus employ ourselves in examining the reality of any person's claim to greatness of parts, when the anatomy of the mind shows, that in men of good natural abilities, genius is the acquisition of virtue and industry, or of chance and fortune, as these supply what industry and virtue have not the merit of achieving?

care of the true system of the general welfare of our country; contenting themselves, as they have thought proper to suggest, to enact rigid statutes, support mistaken views of policy, and accommodate public measures to incidental emergencies; in the place of that system, which is able to supersede, and render them wholly, or for the most part superfluous, and to abridge national business by placing it on it's proper footing, greatly different from that which at present requires endless regulations, and yet is always incomplete. Men certainly should not be accounted great, because they are orators, and understand so far public concerns, as to be able to exercise the powers of language upon them; and because they have capacity sufficient to interest and decide upon the laws, by which all ranks and stations, even the lowest, are governed; and which therefore even these ought to be able to understand. Strokes of eloquence, elaborate and splendid literary compositions, wit and humour, the lustre of fortune, the arrogance of family, the exterieur of religion, and delight in war, should no longer give that false decoration to society, and that superficial and temporary renown to nations, which ill supply the place of useful inventions and improvements, and of those true virtues and abilities, which form the real statesman. In like manner we should seek the substance of liberty in the perfection of general welfare, and the interests of humanity; and cease

to hail the names of whigs or tories; to surrender our judgments to newspapers and polemical pamphlets; to look up with equal faith and zeal to the contention of parliamentary debates; and to render public honours to the memories of ministers who have loaded their country with calamities, and to be satisfied with their mere resignation, remitting the punishments they should suffer, and atonements they ought to make, for their misconduct.

From what has already been stated, we ought to be convinced of our ignorance, and incompetence, in respect of general welfare: and make a just and proper acknowledgment, that we believe we are still in a state, which is the reverse of national perfection, and, what is the same thing, and what we cannot dispute, of the kingdom of God on Earth; that we are not yet past our age of political infancy, but have the obstinacy and self-will of an indulged child, adverse not only to improvement, but to the amendment of the least of it's faults. At the same time we must be sensible, that our errours, vices, and degeneracies, are those of the most mature period of life, which has become hardened in depravity and excess. Farther, we should acknowledge, that, as we have approached to the jaws of extreme misery, or actual ruin, by trusting to the measures of past ministries, and by not having qualified ourselves to determine judiciously upon their merits: so we are now entering upon a fresh ministry, wherein we wholly

rely on men, being as little as ever qualified to judge their measures, and to know whether these will rescue us from destruction and wretchedness, or plunge us only more certainly and deeper into them. Thus we may still proceed to aggravate a system of horrour, progressive without bounds, and productive of that calamity, vice, folly, ruin, and disgrace, which must in the end overthrow our empire, as they have hitherto overthrown all the other empires of the World.

It is therefore a perfect and practical system of general welfare alone, that can save and serve Great Britain and it's empire at the present moment: and to which we must trust, and not to party and ministers. Fortunately that system is at this time fully ascertained, and rendered adequate in all respects both to the redress of our present urgent situation and the completion of our public and private interests: and it is no more necessary to inquire into it's merits and efficacy, than to reimbark in a voyage round the globe, to ascertain the rotundity of it's figure. It remains for us to adopt and patronize it in earnest, trusting only to truth and our own senses. Ministers may not think proper, whatever it's deserts and services may be, to introduce the system of their own accord. However respectable they may have been in private life or in opposition, yet like oaks, being transplanted into the sandy soil of a false system of government, they become weak themselves, are

shaken with every wind, and are liable to be wholly corrupted by the contagion of the measures and principles which their predecessors have left behind them. Therefore it is merit alone, and not ministers, which we must worship; that merit which is capable of giving a perfect system of general welfare.

May it please your Majesty! that I humbly present myself before you, as standing in a trust of the highest importance, and in a station of supreme honour, which render it my indispensable duty to my God and country, to the World at large, and to your majesty yourself, to endeavour by this address to procure your gracious support and effectual aid for carrying into effect the divine and perfect system of general welfare, explained in the present publication. There is less reason, may it please you majesty! to impute to me presumption on this occasion, because it is that system, which will accomplish those beneficent intentions, by which your majesty declared from the throne, on first ascending it, that you would model your future government. They were, that you would conduct the affairs of the empire by a regular economy favourable to peace and improvement, and for this purpose unite all parties, and try all characters, in order to produce the greatest quantity and diversity of good possible, to your subjects and the World at large. These undoubtedly were very different maxims of government

from those, which your predecessors had followed; whose ministers had probably persuaded them, that to reign was to carry on a routine of war, of taxes, of restrictive laws, and of various kinds of engagements, compacts, and treaties, in which finesse, deception, and exclusive interests, are unavoidably necessary. However, that system was reserved by the Almighty to be formed and brought to perfection at the latter period of your reign. For in the mean time the crimes and follies of statesmen were destined by him to be rendered conspicuous to the World, and to be proved wholly repugnant to your majesty's gracious intentions. Permit me therefore to refer your majesty for confirmation of the truth of this last assertion, to the preceding pages, and to the work entitled "Peace on Earth." For it is those ministers who have instrumentally rendered your reign hitherto an awful scene of earthly probation; yet such as Heaven imposes upon it's favourites without rendering them injustice, because for the trials they undergo during the short period of this life, they are sure to be rewarded in another with immortal beatitude. It is those ministers, who have brought your empire into such a state, whether of calamity and distress, or of actual danger, as can be relieved and rectified alone by the greatest of measures, and the most spirited and extensive of national undertakings; in fact, neither by ordinary exertions, nor by the aid of precedents, nor by the routine

of office, nor by that weak and dreadful resource of little and ignorant minds, which is called war, but alone by the divine and perfect system of general welfare recommended to your majesty's gracious acceptance; which, in being adopted by your majesty for these important purposes, is destined at the same time to complete the public and private interests of your own subjects, and of all mankind, and to effect the original intentions of your majesty in such a marked and eminent manner, as shows Heaven has determined to shed it's most glorious effulgence over the present period and your reign. The Almighty, as your reward on Earth, has at the same time given you the opportunity of accomplishing a work the most congenial to your majesty's well known magnanimity, to royal sentiments, and your most exquisite feelings of humanity and love for your subjects. He has ordained, that your majesty should not be employed in the petty repairs of national affairs, and in trifling additions made to the general welfare, which, at a time like the present, would be as ruinous, as unworthy of your majesty's attention; but in their total redress, in their happiest adjustment, in the most extensive and complete construction of them; and that all sovereigns should at length, according to the true intentions of the oaths by which they reign, be able to consummate the public and private interests of the

different nations of the World, and to establish the kingdom of God on Earth.

The true nature and real principle of religion, that have remained so long unknown, are therefore laid open at the present period; and shown essentially to comprise that grand meliorative power, which is competent to enable your majesty to advance all the great resources of national wealth, security, population, strength, and aggrandizement, now become indispensable, and will make man worthy in all respects of his Creator's esteem and approbation, and of your majesty's. It is even religion, which will expose the present beggarly poverty of the state, and give the crown real influence, for which it will not be indebted to corruption. It will procure that royal wealth and accession of power, in the improvement of the empire and the love of your grateful subjects, which have hitherto been thought impracticable; and, as is proposed to be shown hereafter, for what can give greater security to good government than true religion and national perfection? will prove neither injurious to your prerogatives, nor to the liberty of the subject. At the same time, by a perfect and practical system of general welfare, it will enable kings to be their own ministers; and rescue them from being the mere subjects and instruments of the operations of statesmen. Religion will thus enable your majesty to make your reign the future

delight and wonder of all ages; and to advance to perfection the individual interests of your subjects, and thus effectually relieve them, oppressed as they are by infinite burdens and privations. Therefore, the Almighty has afforded you the singular and glorious opportunity, but has imposed it as an awful duty on your majesty, that you shall have the power to say, " His divine system of general welfare shall be carried into effect throughout the whole World:" and it will be carried into effect throughout the whole World.

May it please your majesty! I beg leave to observe in concluding this address, not only that the necessity of making it has been forced upon me by the most sacred duties; but that I am, whatever I may advance, the mere representative of a man, whom I humbly beg leave to name to your majesty on the occasion; of Dr. Edwards, who must at some period be considered as a valuable benefactor to mankind. I therefore apologize for the imperfection of the system, so far as it depends on him, by adding; that it would have been less unworthy of your inspection, had some attention been shown to it by your majesty's ministers, who have treated with contempt the supposition of it's practicability. Yet it may appear to your majesty in it's practical effects and result, to carry that real dignity and grandeur, which literary composition is in fact unable to give

it: and the perusal of it, such as it is, will show, that it is derived from nature and Providence, as well as that it's truth is unquestionable, on account of it's clear well marked views, powerful energies, surprising facilities, and great simplicity. I trust, therefore, that posterity will have no reason to regret, that your majesty was unacquainted with the goodness and purity, as well as the comprehensive range of his proposals for universal good and the true glory of his sovereign and his people. If he however appear to be too free in his strictures on public men and their measures, your majesty may graciously condescend to suppose, that it might appear to him a duty incumbent on his part, to leave on record a knowledge of their crimes and follies, which the Almighty himself for wise purposes had caused to be singularly eminent; and thus to endeavour to lay a foundation on which posterity might firmly stand, and adhere with sufficient advantage to the divine and perfect system, which he proposes for constituting universal good. I therefore most submissively entreat your majesty, to extend your majesty's gracious protection to him, as freedom of thought and truth were and are become unavoidable on his part, in order to expose the causes, which have reduced the nation to extreme misery and actual danger; and to establish the kingdom of God on Earth against the perversities and vices of governments, as these mi-

litate against national perfection and the promise he has made us, that he would at some period begin to reign, and reign for ever on Earth.

At any rate, as Dr. Edwards observes, he is not deficient in respect of showing true delicacy and modest deference to your majesty. For he informs us, that he had the honour of laying before your majesty at Cheltenham, in 1788, his work entitled "The Aggrandizement of Great Britain," in which was contained the original income tax: and that he has always since regretted, he should not have farther urged you on the subject of the practicable services contained in this publication, deterred by the fear of it's being forgotten in consequence of your majesty's illness; and thus have given you an earlier opportunity of patronizing the present system, and of terminating the fatal career of destructive warfare. He may however reconcile himself to so great a misfortune, by the reflection, that he has now completed the grand outlines and all the arduous parts of the system, when I finally solicit in the name of my God and my country, that your majesty's patronage, adoption, and powerful aid may be extended to it, for carrying into effect the grand system of your God and of the World, of your crown and of the people, whose public and private prosperity and happiness are both committed to your charge.

Ye distinguished and eminent characters, who compose the new administration! Ye ministers

of the executive government of my country, whose accession to your present high stations has given general satisfaction * to the nation! As you are duly sensible of the present dangerous and calamitous state of public affairs, you must know the necessity of rectifying them; of enabling the empire by improvement and peace, not by war, to keep pace with the rising greatness of France; advancing the interests both of public and private prosperity and happiness; and of finally establishing by the different meliorative powers the national perfection of your country. For you know well, and it has been true policy on your parts to state; that the nation is in the direct road to ruin,

* The formation of the present ministry on a broad basis, adequate to the conduct of such measures, as the times and the public and private interests of the empire require, is, however, far less comprehensive than that which was projected by Dr. Edwards. It was a union of parties, wholly inconsistent with leaving an opposition like the present, highly favoured and respected by his majesty; intended to be employed solely upon the measures indispensable at this period, and not upon measures that may be the same as if opposition had remained in power. I mention the above person's name on the occasion, because he pointed out how readily an administration might so be formed: and what he said on the subject seems not to have been forgotten in the formation of the present ministry; for Mr. Sheridan's station herein was avowedly left to his own choice, an object which that person strongly recommends in his works for the purpose of rendering the inexertion of this gentleman in the cause of his country and mankind altogether inexcusable.

or to extreme misery, if not prevented by extraordinary means. These, notwithstanding, interest, crime, folly, and corruption, will oppose: but it is your virtue, on which your country and mankind must depend, to overpower sentiments so fatal. You must therefore not "come in and go out," like your predecessors, but accomplish the great measures which the times require. In these views, and in the exercise of such virtue, you will be supported by your country. With the same views, and for similar purposes, the French emperor was called to the throne in a period of extreme danger and distress, and in the most turbulent state of faction and anarchy: and you certainly are capable of achievements, which may equal his in the department of national improvement, and of redressing effectually the present political situation of your country.

You are actually called in like manner into office by the voice of the people, in order to discharge every duty, and render every service, which their interests require: in particular, and what is indispensable, to aggrandize, enrich, render populous, and felicitate the United Kingdoms and the empire; to save them from destruction and distress, and secure their national independence. You must thus institute a new era very different from what the modern history of Great Britain records, and the reverse of that so inveterately pursued by the late Mr. Pitt. At the same time you

must procure for your country not an ordinary peace, but a peace, that will correspond with the new situation of Europe, and the novel views, which the age has produced; and be in all respects suitable to the grand era of improvement, which human powers are destined, as the agents of the Almighty, to establish in this world. Consequently you must embrace, and ardently support, that divine and practical system of general welfare, and national perfection, which is the subject of the present publication, and which is intended by Providence, and alone is competent, to effect those several grand and important purposes. Therefore divest yourselves of your own partialities, nor view yourselves even in the flattering glass of public fame and estimation; but judge well and surely what your own powers and projects are for effecting those purposes, compared with the contents of the divine system. But believe me, when I assert, that you will find the former of no significance, unless as they approach to it's different views and proposals.

Neither common measures of state, nor any modifications of them, such as have hitherto been the usual resources of ministers, will supply the place of the system recommended. All it's proposals will be wanted to consummate the services, which the welfare of your country requires: nor can any part of it be omitted without material injury. Every species of improvement, civil as well as physical, economical

and political, as well as agricultural and medical, must be freely admitted, and patronised by the state, in order to perfect the system, and carry it into effect. The Almighty has, however, provided for these several excellencies in the meliorative principle, which enables man in general, by cultivation and practice, to acquire adequate talents and abilities for instituting the highest as well as the lowest improvements: and a few persons may by it's means qualify themselves, so as to be able to carry to perfection all the interests of society and nations. It is thus that the Almighty has ordained, that the human species should be able to understand and carry national perfection into full effect: and those who have embraced comprehensive views of general welfare, and employed adequate and rational arts of practical improvement, such as are peculiar to national perfection, have always been able to accomplish the most important and extensive projects for the benefit of mankind. This is fully illustrated in the proceedings, which took place in the foundation and origin of the United States of America, and of the present French Empire; that is, in the achievements of the private persons who gave birth to these, as well as in those of such royal personages as Theodoric, Charlemagne, Alfred, and Peter the Great. Nay an individual, Dr. Edwards, has explored views of general welfare still more comprehensive, various,

and important. He has actually discovered the anatomy of the mind*: and he has even foreseen

* Perhaps few literary persons are qualified to judge of the truth of the alleged discovery of the anatomy of the mind; therefore, as it is an object of too great importance to mankind to be lost, I beg leave to elucidate it by the two following occurrences. A lady, good and amiable as a wife and mother, sufficiently satisfied with what Mr. Locke has advanced upon the human understanding, laughed at my mention of the discovery of the anatomy of the human mind, and at the idea of ascertaining it's constituent parts: and to ridicule the supposition of the fact, asked how I could refer to it the actions of her child spoiled by indulgence, then displaying every possible freak of infantile perversity? But, when I told her it was the effect of too great indulgence shown to that part of the mind pointed out in the anatomy of it by the name of self will; she immediately with thanks assented to the reference, exclaiming, "It was even thus, unhappy mother as I am! that I helped to spoil the disposition of my daughter now no more, whose perversity in her ways and humours I was too late in attempting to correct." "No, madam;" after some reflection, I answered, "she had additional failings, which were likewise difficult to correct from too long inattention: which in the anatomy of the mind, under the head of passionate depression, are generally referred to in the following words: 'Indulgence or love of rest, quietness, sluggishness, inactivity, indolence, idleness.' I knew your daughter well, all her amiable qualities were fatally marred, or rather prevented from blowing, by want of a timely counteraction to these obstinate inveteracies, as well as to the predominance of self will."

The other occurrence respects an old friend, who had always referred every mental property to matter. On reading in the Anatomy of the Mind it's beautiful organization, he tenderly

the necessity, which the conquest of the Austrian empire has since produced, of our forming without delay a new kingdom of Assyria situate between the Levant and Persian gulf, in order to guard against the inevitable consequences, and partake the advantages, of the recivilization and revival of the great ancient World, and of this being occupied by the different powers of Europe; as events which are now certain to take place.

Ye illustrious statesmen! consider duly, that the comprehensive union of the different parties, which you form, qualifies you for the execution of the greatest national enterprises; and that the durable combination of the heterogeneous parts, of which it consists, will best be secured by directing your common efforts to universal good, and every

acknowledged: "I must now, my friend! think of a life immortal; for my body must die, though it be raised again. Such an organization as that of the mind cannot be engrafted on matter, but must exist in itself. For if it could be so ingrafted, what can cause the matter of my body to be produced, to be repaired, to grow and increase? matter cannot thus operate upon itself. I have always acknowledged superiour spiritual beings to exist in the Universe: and it can only be some such spiritual and immortal being, that can actuate matter as the human body is actuated in this life, and produce the mental powers of man: and the simplicity of nature and philosophy incontrovertibly convince me, that I ought to refer the organization of the matter of man to such a spiritual being, infinitely sooner than the powers both of mind and corporeal organization to simple matter itself."

various interest of your country. Therefore, let the freest search be made after whatever may in this manner be beneficial to it. Let every useful proposal be fairly examined and fairly tried, from whatever quarter it comes: and let the present system be duly investigated and appreciated, if it be not on account of it's alleged divine origin, yet at least on account of the income tax having been borrowed from it by your predecessors. May justice and integrity again always accompany the proceedings of government with foreign nations, and direct it s attention invariably to the individual prosperity and happiness of the subject: and may the pledge be, that four successive ministries, regardless of shame and open crime, have not employed the income tax without bestowing the least honour and recompense, nay not even a compliment upon it's real author. Thus Europe at large will see, that regard to justice and integrity is not lost in this country: and though it were only from motives of sound policy, you ought also to consider well the weight and efficacy, which the religion accompanying the system must impart to it's proposals in the eyes both of your own and foreign nations; and particularly to that plan of permanent peace, which it points out and recommends: and believe me, that it is impossible for human talents to shake the religious foundations on which the system stands.

May you no longer from a weak policy oppose

France, as your predecessors have done, merely to render her a formidable and destructive enemy; and to exhaust the resources, and ensure the misery or ruin of your country. May your passions, as they may hitherto have prejudiced you against France, or too favourably inclined you toward the friendship of Russia, not prevent you from seeing the wisdom of the timely humiliation of Russia before it's power is inordinately aggrandized; and the certainty, by the employment of the proper means, and the renunciation of war, of enabling this country always to maintain it's maritime superiority over France. May you duly weigh the plan for permanent peace proposed in the preceding pages, with the observations made upon it, and the particular references pointed out; and perceive that such a peace may be formed both upon the firmest grounds of demonstration, and the strictest principles of national honour. May you cease to harrass the political mind of your country with empty notions of contending for the support of that continental balance of power, which is now lost; and can be recovered only by forbearing to meddle with it, and advancing the arts of improvement abroad. Therefore, depend solely on your own weight in the scale, by increasing your strength and resources, as France does at this time, by forwarding hers on the widest basis. Thus, not only duly estimate the system proposed, but by means of operating upon it acquire those talents

of practical improvement and enterprise, that may enable you in these respects to surpass, at least equal her, at all times. She is able to think and act, in a manner conformable to her true interests. She is restricted by no awe of precedent, and no routine of office. She advances rapidly in aggrandizement by advancing every where the local meliorations of her extensive empire; by skill and energy acquired in national improvement from practice and cultivation; and by those patient and thoughtful habits of the calm devotee, that leave no resource unexplored, and are sure to suggest the most valuable inferences, and the most extraordinary services and combinations.

Ye illustrious legislators, the constituent members of the British Parliament, peers and commoners, it is my duty to intrude myself upon your attention, and ensure myself the honour of your noticing this address, on account of the infinite importance of your making an actual assay of the merits of a system of general welfare, which alone can rectify public affairs, save the empire, and consummate national perfection; the origin of which is divine, and which I do not here hesitate to assert the Almighty has intended you should adopt, and carry into effect at this remarkable period. You are fully competent to examine the capacious views of a perfect system of general welfare, and of what in this publication is called national perfection: and at this awful moment, it may be presumed, that neither

ministerial corruption, nor that corporate interest, which is considerable in both houses of Parliament, will bias your judgment; and that you will not be offended at the freedom of this address, when the political crime and economical imbecility, which must necessarily predominate in an imperfect and corrupt state of nations, have at last arrived at such a state, that they can no longer be permitted; and when, if the censure affect you as hereditary successors to it, it is in your power immediately to remove it, and acquire higher honours than have yet been recorded in history, by the consummation of human perfection, and the establishment of an era, as yet practically unknown to mankind, an era however which corresponds with the original design of creation.

In thus soliciting your earnest attention to the system, I seek to engage you in a diligent, free, and unlimited study of general welfare, which is very different from the too slight consideration you have hitherto given to it. What however that study is; how much it has been neglected; and how it is to be conducted; have been so fully explained in the preceding pages, as to leave only a few general observations to be advanced here concerning it. One principal object for your attention is to trace out the various interests of general welfare, and give them a stable form, by comprehending them under a system; and having thus obtained a full, simple, and clear

knowledge of each in it's proper place of reference, to collect and combine all the different measures and all expedients that are required, for the purpose of forming appropriate practical plans to carry those interests into effect. Without doing this, all disquisitions and proposals are necessarily speculative, and cannot be of practical use: and even Dr. Smith's work on the Wealth of Nations, from an omission of this kind, is almost wholly inapplicable to real use; however valuable it may be in certain respects. It is thus, my Lords and Gentlemen, that all subjects of general welfare of any importance, every great resource, and the different parts of the empire, should be actually examined, and brought in aid of the public good: and should be renewed, reinstituted, and carried to perfection from their first principles; as may be found necessary. At a time like the present, when all the national improvements ought to be advanced to perfection, and are necessary to enable us to support our future career of greatness and renown, no objections deserve attention: for they are unnecessary to vindicate and defend our constitutional government, and established religion, which are admitted to be perfect institutions, unless as we have corrupted or neglected them.

You should therefore be sedulous in acquiring the knowledge of whatever is good, and can be useful either to your country, or to mankind, and carry it conscientiously into effect. On the one hand you

should rejoice, and congratulate yourselves on all grand subjects of general welfare, and the highest institutions of the empire, the above excepted, being proposed for your adoption, as capable of the greatest improvement, and resources adapted and adequate to the present period. On the other, you should hold up to the view of the public a balance, in which you weigh the least grain of whatever is good and useful; and, if it turn the scale, accept it with true affection and gratitude. My Lords and Gentlemen! you ought, as a Parliament, to be a grand scientific society, for devising and effecting national improvements of every species. You are not intended by the constitution to be the tools of statesmen, to impose restrictive regulations alone upon the proceedings of individuals, and to vote taxes in order to support the impolitic measures of ministers. At this crisis, it is the greatest of crimes, not to assume your proper constitutional functions, and cooperate in council, as well as in legislation, with ministry, in rectifying affairs and establishing national perfection. The constituent national assembly and the late king of France conjointly undertook the work of cultivating and carrying into effect a great and extensive system of general welfare, which was, comparatively speaking, by no means as requisite and indispensable as the object now recommended to you. The event of the revolu-

tion, and the establishment of monarchy in France, have since shown, that they would have succeeded by their united efforts in the attempt, the king have remained secure on his throne, and this throne have been elevated to a still greater height; had he been permitted by those who surrounded him, to be as sincere in pursuing so desirable an object, as the goodness of one of the best of hearts naturally dictated to him. My Lords and Gentlemen, ministers are too often mere orators, men bred up in colleges, plagiarists from works of literature, fertile in terms that impose upon the understanding, educated in barren studies or studies foreign to general welfare, at best a kind of half philosophers or sciolists, theorists supported by the routine of office and the unfortunate precedents of past times, and slaves to passion; as well as such adepts in deception as always to be able both to hide their ignorance, inability, and unwillingness to serve their country and mankind, and to persuade you, that there are no other means for serving them, than those which they lay before you. Depend therefore on yourselves. You are men in general resident in the country, and versed in an extensive sphere of active life. You view on a sufficient scale the operations themselves, which constitute, in whatever state it may be, the general welfare. You as private individuals carry forward improvements of various

kinds: and actually behold human life, as it is naturally and providentially destined to meliorate itself in society. Thus being able to understand a practical system of general welfare, you must consequently become adepts in it. You can therefore exalt your minds and executive faculties to the actual accomplishment of such indispensable services, as it points out. Thus versed in all the essential principles* of general welfare, you are the proper persons both to urge forward, and to counteract statesmen: and as it is your province to ensure the universal good of your country and mankind; so you should not relinquish this important function to ministers or their agents, whom your superior, or at least your superior collective knowledge and virtue should be alike able to serve and instruct.

My Lords and Gentlemen, it may not be im-

* It is unaccountable, how far the custom has prevailed of educating in the school of the law, as well as of oratory, young men bred up for ministers and statesmen. Their fathers at least must have been unacquainted with the arts of general welfare, and practical improvement: and the late lord Chatham is no exception, who educated his son as a lawyer, in order to make him a statesman. It is sufficient to say, the law is not a school, that teaches the principles of general welfare; furnishes the knowledge most useful to human life; is favourable to improvement; sharpens and invigorates the executive talents; and opens capacious and comprehensive practical views of public prosperity and private happiness.

proper to say, in few words, that as an appropriate instrument for the purpose, you should protect and forward the meliorative efforts of the people at large, as they may cooperate with you in the preceding intentions: that in particular you should be the champions of the cause of national perfection against the interested views, prejudices, and bigotry of different stations, and corporate bodies, or of mere individuals belonging to these, who may make no scruple of sacrificing their God, their country, and mankind, to their avarice, absurdities, and caprices: that as the institution of numerous societies for the cultivation of different objects of general welfare shows, how necessary cultivation is for these, so they should be encouraged; yet that this desideratum itself should be infinitely more fully effected by it's proper means, than it can by them: and that individual merit should be scrupulously advanced by you, independently of parliamentary and ministerial interest, on which last it's honours and recompense solely depend at present in a manner highly dishonourable to the legislature, the king, and the country. Thus you may complete those inventions and discoveries, which are become indispensable; and are the offspring of ardent reflection and consideration, for the most part of private persons, happily and attentively directed to their proper objects. For the nation at large is ready with

all the virtue and sensibility, liberality of sentiment and magnanimity necessary, to establish national perfection, and rectify public affairs, if you yourselves be ready; if you be disposed to cherish and protect, and do not actually destroy, the latent seeds and principles of universal good, placed by his maker in the breast of every man.

Ye people of Great Britain, and the different ranks who compose that people, My Countrymen at large, I next call upon you, both as a collective body, and as separate individuals, to solicit in the most earnest manner your king, his ministers, and your Parliament, that they will take into due consideration the divine and perfect system of general welfare, which has been fully explained in the preceding pages; at the same time to give your warm support, when approved by them, in carrying all it's contents into effect, and establishing national perfection every where throughout the empire; and cordially to cooperate with all other states and nations in improving the whole World, and erecting the kingdom of God on Earth, by it's means. For the system comprises all your various interests; can rectify the present state of national affairs, replete as it is with extreme misery and danger, and reverse it in all respects, even making finance a benefit to you, as well as effectually removing your actual burdens: complete with transcendant lustre, and true national glory, both pub-

lic and private prosperity and happiness: and is the predestined means of accomplishing the divine purposes of the creation of mankind, and the World at large; as is above fully proved to you by demonstration drawn from the operations of nature, civil life at large, and divine revelation. Ministers and senates themselves are weak, and insufficient to serve you at this crisis. As they have hitherto conducted public affairs in general as speculatists, and never strengthened their faculties in exercising the practical arts of improvement, and the powers of a perfect system of general welfare; so they have remained in a degraded state of political imbecility, hostile both to those arts and the system itself, and entailed consequent misery and ruin upon nations. You therefore must discharge the important duties, which are incumbent on you, as well as on every rank and profession, and indeed on all nations, at the present period.

It may be considered however as a system, which is as devoutly appropriated, as it is fully competent, to secure and consummate your interests in every respect. It substitutes the general weal for those partial interests, which seem at present the sole object of society, or rather of government. It's various and infinite services are peculiarly important, as they administer to your individual interests, whether you be considered as the

grand mass forming the body of society, or as public agents for carrying on the affairs of the community. It's operations are carefully directed by a new science, established for the purpose, to the effectual arts of advancing private prosperity and happiness, in a manner that has hitherto never been proposed, even in speculation: and your public services and practical merits, by the manifestation of their great importance, are by it's means elevated to that high station, which must in future secure them against injustice, ingratitude, and neglect. Farther, the system inciting and perfecting the meliorative powers of man; impressing the due exertion of them, as duties, by the most sacred and religious ties upon your hearts; and conducting their operations with the most energetic arts and certain plans and methods of practical improvement; is in this manner singularly adapted to augment at the same time your private fortunes and the national prosperity. It will be still more effective in enlightening your minds according to your different stations; and in procuring you that wisdom, truth, knowledge, and policy, which your different stations may respectively require. And thus it will perfect you as men; thus it will enable you to discharge with facility the different parts allotted you for establishing the grand era of national perfection, and the improvement of the World; as well as

enable government to exonerate you, by express means provided for the purpose, from the distress, taxes, oppressions, and dangers, which both harrass and menace you on all hands.

Ye few of my countrymen, and ye subjects of the different monarchies of the World, who may be favourably disposed towards republicanism; the divine system of general welfare, which I would recommend you to support, points out kings well disposed and informed, and duly instigated and controlled in the discharge of it's different services, as the greatest of blessings to mankind; and proposes to consecrate in all respects their different legitimate powers and authorities. But on the other hand, the perfection of general welfare is the true policy of kings. For it is alike serviceable to the interests of them and their subjects. It would incite and restrict both to the proper discharge of their several functions: and cause them to cooperate effectually in advancing the general welfare, while it would have the best effect in uniting them in constant harmony and friendship. The consummation of general welfare would render monarchs strong in the love and satisfaction, and in the military enthusiasm of their subjects; give them power and wealth; and ensure their thrones against incidental changes and revolutions. "The certain effect of clemency, kindness, and fidelity on the part of government to the interests of the

people is peace, goodwill, order, and esteem on the part of the governed." Nothing but the opposition of monarchs to these principles, incited perhaps always by their ministers and favourites, or by actual ignorance, ever rendered the republican form of government requisite, in order to correct the evils of such strange and perverse conduct: and certainly it was a system of bad measures, and a natural wish in man, to make an adequate advance toward the proper extent of human prosperity and happiness, and not the defects of our constitution, which caused of late a disposition to republicanism greater than ordinary in this country. A republic, even as Payne himself viewed it, is only wanted as an instrument in such a situation as is above described, of introducing and imposing by force a proper system of public measures, or of general welfare. But when the system is in practice diffused throughout society in all it's different operations and consequences, and the public is enlightened even by it's means, the incessant and violent intrigues and agitations of parties, which will always unavoidably ensue, must not only prove highly injurious, but in the end fatal to the fortunate effects, that might otherwise be expected from it. The happy effects it produces will always be infinitely better maintained and secured by an hereditary house of supreme government, accompanied with institu-

tions of adequate councils, and with different constituent parts proper to advise, instigate, and control the monarch in his public capacity. But whatever the emergency and necessity may be, instead of having recourse to a republic, as a temporary instrument of preventing total misery, ruin, and the destruction of the empire, it is always infinitely preferable to have recourse to the system recommended, and to carry it into full effect by the existing government, at least when it's constitution is like our own; and disposing government in all respects in it's favour. In like manner, in order to render the proposal altogether unexceptionable to the crown, I strongly advise, in carrying the system into effect, to defer the reform of parliamentary representation, until the principal improvements intended are so far advanced, that government must actually believe no alterations are intended in the constitution. After this point is accomplished, a parliamentary reform is supposed, and recommended to take place, when government can have no exception to the measure. For on one hand, it is intended for the security of those rational meliorations, to which government has previously given it's assent. On the other, the institutions of such meliorations as are requisite would, in case of a parliamentary reform, liberate government altogether from a vain opposition, and attempts sanctioned

by the public, made to disturb it's proceedings, without great and sufficient cause.

Thus it is proposed, that you should receive the actual services of a system of general welfare, perfected both in the theory and practice, carried into effect in it's full extent, and accompanied with the most powerful energies; the accomplishment of which should be directed and superintended by a steady and active executive government, while other representative and legislative bodies connected with this would in a tranquil and truly patriotic manner interfere with it's operations; though only as the first actually deviated from the fundamental views of the system, when they would in this case interfere, and interfere effectually. A system conducted on these principles was the primary and fundamental object of the French revolution: and to secure it, this people have finally, after sufficient experience, given up the form of a republican government, in order to secure the real substance and intentions of it. For it is not forms of government, but the cultivation and improvement, and the regular, tranquil, and disinterested completion, of the different interests of general welfare, which cause the real prosperity and happiness of nations. Republics are not calculated for both these purposes; but all their real virtues and excellencies may in a latent state be concentred in monarchy,

which like the tropical wind most truly and steadily navigates the bark of state. Thus they are erected by revolutions and bloodshed, only to become more distressing and unfortunate by the ignorance and mismanagement of the real interests of the citizen.

Also ye ought, ye different professions established in society, to support a system of national perfection; and in particular to reform the principles you have embraced as far as they are injurious in any respect to the general good; but more especially to renounce that *esprit du corps*, which is so often cherished and blindly followed with the worst of consequences to the general interests of society. Begin then, ye different professions, with manly and patriotic virtue to free yourselves from these imputations, and to contribute all your various services to the advancement of the welfare of your country, and the divine cause of the creation itself. For your combined efforts are necessary to establish national perfection: and thus you will most effectually advance and provide for the individual interests of your respective stations.*

Ye venerable body of men, who in the established church of your country, and in different sects, are the ministers of religion to your God and from him to mankind; I call upon you to carry into effect at this time, and at all times support, with

true zeal and devotion, a perfect system of general welfare. For as has been shown in the second part of this work, it is the proper and predestined means of establishing the kingdom of God on Earth; and it is the advancement and completion of it's interests, which principally constitute religion. You must the more devoutly for this purpose employ religion, as it is thus understood; because such uses assigned to it, however important, are now almost wholly lost to mankind. In this sense christianity is even become a professional not a practical religion throughout the United Kingdom. You are a body of holy men purposely instituted to advance the general welfare of your country and mankind, and the improvement of the whole World. You cannot therefore consistently support a system of economical weakness and political guilt; and particularly, when this system is actually pointed out in Scripture as the whore of Babylon herself. On this account you are called upon to act cordially with the ministers of the various religions dispersed throughout the World, the improvement of which every where is a part of the duty incumbent on you, and will be greatly forwarded by the mutual aid and cooperation of the different nations which constitute it. But in order that the christian nations of Europe may more effectually unite in promoting the progress of melioration throughout the World, and

influence all other religions and nations in it's favour, you, my countrymen, should industriously accommodate your religious differences with the Romish church; nay, if it were solely on account of the exemplary conduct in respect of religion, which the papal court itself has pursued in modern times; in moderation, condescendence, and politeness, in it's frequent adoption of great and liberal views, and, what at least may show a less violent spirit of bigotry, in propagating and supporting it's religious establishments by policy, rather than by it's doctrines. Be industrious likewise in accommodating the tenets and doctrines of your own church, and at any rate all it's bigotted and too contracted notions, to the support and perfection of the general welfare of your country and mankind. For a complete state of universal welfare, accompanied with divine worship, is most certainly that grand object, which religion is instituted to accomplish, the kingdom of God on Earth: and as this has not been understood, and we have not known what religion really is, till the present period, so some or many of the principles and notions, which you have adopted in respect of our religion in general, may require innovation and change, and be false, mistaken, or adulterated. They are so unquestionably, if they be adverse to this kingdom of God that is now to come; and which your pious endeavours will

cause both to come and continue. May you therefore liberally accept the explanation of religion, which is offered for your consideration in the work entitled "Peace on Earth;" and view it in the light, in which it is there represented, of a beautiful and perfect whole, consisting of the strenuous exertions of human industry, accompanied with all due acts and returns of devotion to the Almighty! May you thus consider your sacred profession, as the grand source of national wealth and income! May you thus see the impiety of retaining your tythes, which are now become the most fatal obstructions to industry; and in relinquishing them be convinced, that you must infinitely augment the riches of cultivation, and most effectually contribute to enlarge the revenue of the church! May you finally consummate by your own efforts the supreme excellence and dignity of religion, in being yourselves the principal instrument of establishing the kingdom of God on Earth: and, no longer attached to a speculative life, no longer waiting for the imaginary event of the supernatural coming of a glorious kingdom, in the establishment and support of which you will not partake, and therefore can have no merit; rise to your grand and proper sphere of activity, and to the due discharge of it's comprehensive functions, which will render you the most enlightened, respectable, and illus-

trious part of the community! Thus you will receive the highest rewards both on Earth, and in Heaven: and thus you and the supporters of the system at large will procure the same rewards to your country and all nations.

Ye different members of the law, and ye practitioners of medicine in it's various branches, I call upon you, as well as the clergy, to contribute all the various services, which your professions are capable of rendering to the advancement of national perfection, in introducing and supporting it's proper source, the system of general welfare. Your respective professions are actually two constituent parts of it: but the former has been of late as little forwarded, as the latter has been sedulously improved, in order to serve mankind. The services of both however may be infinitely farther extended than they are at present for this purpose. In this case the public honours and recompense, which the state has forgotten to pay to medicine, should be restored; because her disciples in the real merit of their exertions. knowledge, and science, have much greater claims to national gratitude than the faculty of the law; as our ancestors have admitted by the great respect with which they treated them in numerous instances.

Ye farmers, I have already addressed you, as a part of the body of the people, in order to support

the cause of national perfection at large, or of the kingdom of God on Earth, with all the piety and energy, which are due to him, who for the wisest purposes, has, in the creation of all things, blended industry and devotion together, and formed them into religion. I now earnestly exhort you to consider the actual accomplishment, and permanent support of the different landed meliorations of the country, so far as it is reasonable on your part to cooperate in respect of them, to be a most sacred duty imposed upon you, as well as your own advantage; and to reflect therefore upon the impiety, and upon the final impolicy, of ruining, and impoverishing them in any degree, and from any motive whatever.

Ye British merchants, you know well that commercial gain essentially consists in landed improvements, and extensive establishments of industry, effected by the free investment of capital, as well as in the profits arising from the exchange of commodities. May your adventurous spirit pursue these important objects at large, according to the proper line of policy, and suitable regulations, that may hereafter be thought most proper to expedite the views of establishing national perfection and the kingdom of God on Earth. But may you be persuaded, that the great national improvements of the United Kingdom are at least as interesting, and in general as profitable, as those of

foreign countries! May you no longer court a mistaken exclusive commerce as either your own advantage, or that of your country; but view it as preventing the establishment of the great mart of the World replete with whatever wealth this is capable of furnishing, in the infinite abundance of it's different commodities, and the highest transcendancy of their qualities genuine and unadulterated! May you never again consider a political system, whether founded on the complicate emoluments of corruption, or on war and the commercial pursuit of wealth conjoined in their operations, or on both these views, as worthy of the approbation of British merchants: but may you have the opportunity of rejoicing with me, that a low bred meteor, a system formed solely from the luminous exhalations of the putrid matters of the Earth, has burst, and disappeared, never again to be collected together and mislead you!

Lastly, ye men of science and of literature, I beseech you, render your studies immediately, and not indirectly, subservient to the various interests of general welfare, by comprehending in your writings the whole of it's system; instead of borrowing from this different particulars, and often at great length, to grace your pages, and make so ill a return, as therefore to consider your labours to constitute civilization, and national perfection itself. At any rate, preclude not the farther

progress of these, as you frequently have done, by ascribing these divine objects and their important services to the monuments of literary and oratorical genius, and to the various charms and embellishments, which merely decorate the exteriour constitution of society and nations. Civilization and national perfection are more than of sufficient extent to constitute a grand, practical, and scientific subject in themselves: and literature has no right to boast, that itself is that subject, when the highest honour it can claim is to be the implement of it's communication, as it is of very different compositions, the pretensions of which are absolutely confined to their powers of amusement. In support of the system, employ the energies and charms of persuasion and description, as well as thorough investigation and candid judgment, in order to render justice to the establishment of civilization and national perfection now proposed; and to enable mankind and your country to derive from them their several eminent and essential services. Let all the powers of taste second your efforts in their favour; and even music, poetry, and painting, vie in the celebration of their infinite services and excellencies. Accompanied with your warm effusions in their praise, let the pipe and bugle resound through the plains, the woods, and the mountains of the kingdom: and let the impressive organ, tempered with the softest strains of the

flute, breathe the sweet enchantments of civilization and national perfection into the feelings of the British legislature, unveil their genuine nature and beauties to their astonished view, and raise their dignified minds from the present political corruption of nations to the true glories of this Earth, sent by the Almighty from Heaven! At the same time you will acquire in the system the treasures, that are wanted to complete your stock of ideas; the means of adding and introducing your own improvements; and the public remunerations justly due to literary celebrity and character employed in rendering essential services to your country. Thus you will no longer render the practical powers of improvement speculative and impotent, and frustrate the original intentions of founding legislative senates, and creating statesmen. Likewise permit me on this occasion, particularly to address myself to you, whose assumed province it is in this country, daily to inform and direct the public mind, and even government and the legislature itself, in respect of national affairs; ye editors of our newspapers, may you either effectually support the early attempts made in favour of establishing a perfect state of general welfare, enlighten the public mind upon it's real interests herein concerned, and thus direct all it's efforts to complete the security, independence, prosperity, and happiness of the kingdom and it's empire: or permit us

all to be aware, that your papers are intended to lead our understandings, as may most flatter our inclinations, gain our attention, and promote the views of parties; and are too capable to answer these views by inciting our passions either openly or imperceptibly, by gratifying curiosity, exciting wonder, employing argument instead of truth, exhibiting meretricious ornament, advancing happy topics and illustrations of ancient and modern learning; and, in fine, by practising infinite artifices to fix our belief, and captivate our affections. Thus your country will not have you to blame at a future period, if your numerous readers still decline to study the real knowledge and arts of general welfare, and the true interests of their country; by their political pretensions incessantly and impassionately urged, cherish the embers of war throughout the land; and enable it at last to be perpetuated, and from the focus of Great Britain to involve the whole World in universal conflagration.

APPENDIX,

No. I.

BEING AN EXTRACT FROM THE WORK,

ENTITLED

ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.

THE COMPONENT PARTS OF A PERFECT OR ADEQUATE SYSTEM OF GENERAL WELFARE.

HEAD I.

GOVERNMENT: or that grand combination of the sovereign and people, which is founded on their different respective functions and offices, duties and engagements, and which it is incumbent on them severally and jointly to perform, discharge and fulfil, toward each other, for the general benefit of themselves or the community; which is intended to give additional and matured effect, and the most active employment, to the different powers and energies separately inherent in them, and capable of promoting universal good; and thus is able to provide in the most extensive and complete manner, for the various public and private, foreign and domestic interests of society and nations, and cement, at the same time, the union of the several parties, by mutual services and benefits, and the sincerest regard and affection for each other.

HEAD II.

Public agency, under which is comprised what is termed police; consisting of an official body of men, supplied with all requisite power, skill, and information, placed under the direction of executive government, and duly instigated and controlled by it, and other means: and instituted for the purpose of carrying into due effect, and to the greatest advantage, all public objects, schemes, or projects, which are connected with, and depend upon, or can be promoted by government, as well as all local improvements, which the capacity of the country may any where permit, and which may, in any manner, contribute to national perfection; of furnishing the people with all such help, support, information, and services, as their interests may require, and as it can supply, for the better management of their private concerns; and particularly of informing and duly instigating them in these respects, in a satisfactory manner, not improperly interfering with them and their free consent. For a state or empire, however extensive it may be, is to be distributed into such small subdivisions, as will receive and permit the full employment of public agency every where throughout the same, and as will, in the most effective manner, advance all it's general and local interests and improvements whatever, in order that thus the grand combination of government and the people may, as far as public agency is concerned, be competent in their several operations, to realize or accomplish an adequate or perfect system of general welfare.

HEAD III.

Finance; or the art of raising with the greatest advantage, and in a manner least injurious to the interests of the community, the money necessary for the support of the different establishments and conveniences of society; for the

supply of the demands of public philanthropy, or individual interests; for the advancement of incidental or casual expenses, such as those of war; and for the constitution of a capital, with which effectually to extend and expedite the national resources and improvements, and thus, in a manner hitherto unpractised in Europe, infinitely to increase the real wealth of states and empires.

HEAD IV.

AGRICULTURE; or the means by which nature and human industry may be made most effectually to cooperate in rendering land fertile, and all vegetable and animal produce abundant in quantity, and perfect in quality, as may be requisite for the consumption of society and the support of the empire; for liberally supplying population with subsistence, manufactures with materials, and labour with employment; and for increasing the wealth and strength of the nation.

HEAD V.

GENERAL, or manual and intellectual industry; as it comes not under any other head of the present system; as the application of the powers either of the body or mind to various subjects may produce, or increase real wealth, the conveniences of life, the stores of knowledge, and the means of pleasure and embellishment; as it frequently is termed national industry, and is comprehended under what are called national improvements, arts, manufactures, sciences, and compositions of taste and genius; and as thus it may, in various modes, complete national felicity, prosperity, population, and aggrandizement, and the interests of society.

HEAD VI.

COMMERCE; or the carrying on of profitable intercourse between individuals in the same state, or in different coun-

tries or nations, by which they supply one another with articles of demand, but principally with the productions of agriculture and general industry, in requisite abundance, and on marketable terms of exchange. It is more particularly assisted and extended by means of adequate capital; by the aid of money and the due regulation of it's several species; by the just valuation of commodities; by multiplying customers, and for this purpose extending commerce, and making it sufficiently free; founding colonies, civilizing countries, and instituting the regular improvement of the World, or mundane improvement; and by the more proper and immediate methods of advancing and carrying on commerce.

HEAD VII.

Politics; or the proper means of preserving peace, and avoiding war between different nations, and of making these subservient to their mutual welfare and happiness: in particular the means of establishing a balance of power, favourable to their separate and common independence and support: of promoting, through the arts of national improvement, and a rational or divine system of general welfare, an enlightened, flourishing, social, and moral state of mankind, which will perfect or complete their capacity of serving one another, and at the same time eradicate hostile animosity, or show nations their true interests, according to which may be conciliated universal amity and permanent peace, and regulate duly the services they can render one another, by making commerce mutually advantageous to all parties, and sufficiently general throughout the World: and of providing such military force, as may be adequate both to defend the state or empire, and to enable it to retaliate the unjust wrongs that may be offered to it.

HEAD VIII.

MENTAL instruction; or that instruction, which, founded on the discovery of the anatomy of the mind, and the actual and comprehensive knowledge of ourselves, is calculated or adequate to form, incite, and subject to due direction and management, the various and numerous constituent parts of the mind, so as they may duly discharge their respective offices and functions; to regulate the different passions; to advance the different intellectual powers in their full extent; to render man active, and teach him wisdom of conduct, and how to cultivate his interests in life, and best succeed therein: to furnish him with sufficient knowledge and information, and at the same time with due sensibility and taste, that he may place his happiness in virtue, and the performance of his duty; and by an education, or rather an initiation into his proper department of life, sufficiently early and complete, most effectually to provide for his individual interests, and at the same time those of the community at large.

HEAD IX.

RELIGION, as it includes private devotion, and due love and reverence to be shown to the Creator at all times, in all places, and on all occasions, where reference should be made to him: enforces submission to his will, and compliance with his commandments, whether communicated by natural or by revealed religion: offers divine worship to him by a proper and dignified establishment dedicated to his service; distributes through the organ of such establishment all the information to it's votaries incumbent upon it to dispense, particularly the knowledge of the divine will and pleasure, or of all the commands and injunctions of the Almighty; administers therefore mental instruction, as explained under the last head, and gives all the due effect in it's power to the di-

vine system of general welfare; supports government, and the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of society, so far as is consistent with it's holy functions; and gives full efficacy to the truths antl doctrines of revealed religion, and especially to those of christian benevolence.

HEAD X.

MEDICINE; or the art or science of preserving life, of keeping the body in health and vigour, preventing diseases, removing these when present, and restoring perfect health, and of administering relief to a similar effect in the chirurgical and obstetrical departments, and in the disorders of the brute creation placed under human care. Thus it should and may be understood or improved to it's greatest extent and perfection, and be administered every where, and to all persons, ranks, and conditions, with corresponding efficacy, skill, and judgment, by practitioners sufficiently qualified in the above respect; so as to support and extend population, thus increase the wealth of nations, avoid all the contingent evils, distress, and misery, which the condition of humanity does not necessarily impose upon man, heighten or animate corporal and mental action and sensibility, and add to the relish, comforts, and advantages of life, whatever is capable of contributing thereto.

HEAD XI.

THE law, as it embraces the perfection, reform, and improvement of legislation, of the administration of justice, and of the requisite regulations in society, so that it may lay open to the community all the principles of right and wrong, support them, and effectually attack or prevent criminal wilfulness, and perverse vice and corruption, at their source or head; so that it may provide and promulgate all such laws as may be salutary and useful to the state, and may be found-

ed on just principles, especially on those of equality; and so that it may establish an equitable and convenient, a general and local judicature, conducted with the greatest impartiality, moderation, forbearance, and lenity. It should be assisted by cooperative means preventive of crimes and vice, and particularly by a proper magistracy combined with public agency. Farther, what is highly essential, it should fully understand the principles of general welfare, in their relation to and connection with the interests of society and nations at large; know how to devise and apply effective means, which will render such principles beneficial to these interests; and be able to assist in superintending and directing a code of general welfare thus formed, in giving it due effect throughout society, and preventing it's perversion and abuse.

HEAD XII.

Public philanthropy, as it should be made effectively, by all possible means, to conduce to the prosperity and happiness of the individuals who compose society, to relieve their distresses, remove any hardships they sustain, render them every kind of good office, and administer to their rational or innocent gratifications, whether according to the right application of the principles at large of the divine or of a perfect system of general welfare, or according to those exclusively belonging to the present head.

APPENDIX,

No. II.

BEING AN EXTRACT FROM THE WORK,

ENTITLED

ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.

No object more strongly influences the human passions, than that of the general welfare of the community to which we are attached or belong. It is capable of exciting their most violent excesses, and producing the most fatal or ominous effects on national affairs in general. The administration of these affairs is very frequently regulated more by passion than by council; and the people at large seldom decide concerning them from conviction, but, for the most part, from the impulse of emotions artfully impressed upon them by others; or which they fondly cherish and foster in their own bosoms, or in familiar intercourse with each other. It is necessary to comprehend the nature, and penetrate to the root of an evil, so injurious to mankind. Permit me, therefore, to observe, that the passions have hitherto been ill understood, particularly in their extensive operations, as they constitute the principal power that actuates human beings; and have received far less attention than their importance deserves in respect both of their more violent and milder operations. This will appear very obvious hereafter. There is, however, a principle belonging to them, that may be called passionate deception, which it is proper to mention here, and explain

as well as illustrate, on account of it's great and extensive influence upon the interests of nations. It arises from the strong and excessive attachment of the human heart to the conviction, which strength of passion produces in the place of reason and judgment: it communicates to all kindred objects the dictates of the passions; and changes and accommodates those objects to their will or fancy: it brings different things into combination, and imagines them to be, what the passions suppose they are: recalls absent objects, and deems them to be present; and thus imposes both on the senses and intellectual faculties: sets reason at defiance, magnifies or diminishes objects at pleasure, and makes almost any argument or motive plausible and decisive in support of it's suggestions. It makes us blind to the true nature of what is capable of showing it's errours, and undeceiving it; and surrendering us almost entirely to the power of the illusions which the passions excite, makes fiction pass for truth, and exaggeration for accuracy of statement; causes us to admit the weakest pretexts or proofs, in support of whatever cause the passions may favour, and never is in want of sufficient argument, finding always support in those analogies with which nature abounds, and in the aid of ingenuity, which is constantly at it's command. It mixes not merely with our more precipitate determinations, but with our most deliberate thoughts and actions, being able gradually to instil itself through them; and thus can hurry and transport, beyond the power of reflection, those who are reputed the wisest, even into imprudence, folly, misery, ruin, and destruction. It is well known, that it not only connects the passions strongly with the subjects that relate to them, but gives it's own qualities to these, as, sorrow or gladness, love, esteem, or hatred; and even to the various adjuncts that may pertain to, or be associated with them. It not only paints it's own sentiments in the most glowing colours, and thus works upon

and influences the heart, but it is infinitely sensible to foreign or external impressions. Hence it is observed, that it laughs at mimic folly, weeps at artificial misery, is inspired with horrour and indignation at imaginary baseness, and lavishes the ecstacy of joy upon counterfeited or feigned happiness. It likewise produces strong and powerful effects upon the corporeal frame of man; we feel ourselves elevated, bold, and inspired with magnanimity and fortitude, on viewing a lively representation of the heroic and dignified characters of others; the blood thrills in our veins, and the skin itself becomes corrugated, on hearing the mere description of horrible objects; and full confidence placed in certain mystic charms is sometimes able to remove disorders, that are deeply rooted in the constitution.

It has appeared necessary to illustrate, at some length, the principle of Passionate Deception in man; because, however contrary this may be to what we should expect, it is more predominant in politics, than in any other subject of general welfare, or transaction of common life: and the assertion of a great historical philosopher is an unquestionable fact, which must be ascribed to this principle; that it is our violent desires, unrestrained by justice, or any other moral tie, avarice, ambition, and rivalship, that have rendered nations the mutual enemies of one another; and have never ceased, since the ruin of the Babylonian empire, to disfigure the face of the World, to harrass it with misery, or overwhelm it with destruction. The greatest crimes are committed by it's sovereignty over us; crimes, which the heart in a different situation would shun with abhorrence: and if this wise, or that good man be influenced by passionate deception, it is a sufficient ground for believing, that he labours under great errour. Even war, or the infliction of death, violent or lingering wounds, misery, poverty, universal distress, and absolute ruin, is supposed by the passions

to be the cause of our country, and of policy and justice, when it is altogether the reverse: and the statesman must here be first deceived, and afterward the people, and they must both alike experience the violence of the passions; unless that these are naturally the strongest at their sources, more so in the cabinet, than in the coffee-house or smoking-room. Hence we are rendered no better politicians by experience; because these tumultuous powers listen only to the present object, which operates upon them: and as they are now more enraged in consequence of the French Revolution, than they have been known to be in numerous preceding wars, so the policy, or the ground of the war we carry on at present, is in proportion more questionable. It was the passion, and not the wisdom of Europe, that led the different nations of this continent to conspire or confederate against the French Revolution: and it was the continuance of the impression, that made the late peace in this country in fact a war of passion against the ruler of the French, and impossible to be cordial or durable, if man be so much subservient to his passions as is alleged. The influence of the passions must have operated even upon the opinions of parliament, in approving the present war, if wisdom, age, and experience might be trusted in the duke of Richmond, and the marquis of Lansdown; who declared, as their cool and deliberate sentiments, that there did not exist sufficient motives for engaging in the war: or, if Mr. Fox's impressive speech on the same subject produced perfect conviction of it's truth on dispassionate and intelligent minds. Nay, in all probability, it was passionate deception that laid those papers before parliament, which, no doubt, history will say rather justified the continuance of peace, than the adoption of war: that made us see, as it were by magic, the ports of our enemies at that time filled with military preparations, and vessels of war, which Europe believes did not exist; and led

a person high in office to assert in parliament, that, if the war had not taken place, the French would have landed, before three weeks after the period of it's commencement, an army sufficient to have conquered the kingdom. Passionate deception induces us, on one hand, like the Knight of la Mancha, to combat with undertakings, which like the elements bid defiance to our strength; on the other, to approve of insubstantial and even juvenile projects, as the proper means of national aggrandizement and felicity. It causes us to look upon and consider inapplicable precedents, history, the various fascinations of literature and eloquence, future intentions, calculations, war, conquest, taxes, name and pretensions, partial riches, and external show, to be the real grandeur and flourishing state of a nation, to be the trophies of it's greatness, the triumph of wisdom and talents, and the source of affluence and prosperity.

APPENDIX,

No. III.

BEING AN EXTRACT FROM THE WORK,

ENTITLED

ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.

HEADS OF PRINCIPLES,

As they constitute a system, suitable to affect and gratify the mind, or excite what is well known under the name of taste, and has above been explained at large.

1. The treating of any suitable subject under such points of view, as show to the best advantage it's several parts, and the whole; due attention being paid to exhibit the whole under one view, or, if the subject will not permit this in the proper succession of it's several parts; and a clear and unembarrassed arrangement being observed, both in the general outlines, and in a just priority being given to those things, that ought not to be subsequent or posterior.

2. The employment, as the subject and proper rules allow, of all those means, which most happily excite pleasure and the emotions; particularly, of the beautiful, the grand, the sublime, the graceful, the pathetic, the droll; the introduction of such proofs, as may be permitted, of extraordinary and masterly ability and proficiency, for instance, of what are or may be called beauty of thought, delicacy of discernment, the analogies of things opposite in their nature,

unexpected discriminations in things extremely similar or corresponding, striking or uncommon features, and happy incidents: and the omission, if truth permit, of what is inconsistent with the pure and unadulterated principles of taste.

3. Strict attention to the principles of concordancy, as described under the general passion of attachment; especially in respect of harmony, proportion, arrangement, the connection of related objects, congruity, propriety, conformity between the matter and the expression, the present state of the mind, the nature of the subject, and the intention of the performance.

4. The exhibition of the matter treated in the most pleasing form or forms, and with the most impressive imagery, which the subject permits, employing the fancy in the happiest manner for this purpose.

5. The animation of the subject, so far as it allows; and particularly by the powers of description, narration, variety, and novelty.

6. The giving of reality to the subject, so far as this can be done with propriety, by means of passionate deception explained in the first chapter; by avoiding the appearance of artifice; by making life, character, and passion, with their appropriate actions and sentiments, sufficiently prevalent, yet not carrying them to excess or immoderation, &c.

7. The giving of adequate force or strength to the subject, by means of due concentration, yet of sufficient and minute display divested of whatever is trifling; of powerful combination, or succession; of repetition; of accumulation; of contrast; of omissions that give energy, and of suspense that creates interest; of a tone properly preserved, and supporting the less important parts; of climax; of whatever combines force and embellishment, particularly of the figurative, when

proper; and of position, as favourable to the effects of different impressions.

8. Conformity to nature; and assisting her in respect of the imitation and description of her works, with the same advantages, which are to be given to what may be called our own compositions.

9. The just prevalence of knowledge, intelligence, and of what is useful, in works of taste, as far as they are here admissible.

10. While requisite attention should be paid to whatever is interesting, while dignity should be justly supported, and no degradation or vulgarity permitted; the necessity and advantage of due relaxation, pauses, preparation, ease, simplicity, and perspicuity.

11. The giving of the subject all the requisite advantages of decoration and ornament.

12. The causing of the medium, such as language or colours, that represents or communicates the subject, happily to express or improve the sense, to be always correct, and to possess real and proper beauties of it's own: and the employment of it with due regard to perspicuity, elaborateness, dignity, elevation, simplicity, elegance, and amenity, and so as to conceal the efforts of art, or prevent the recollection of the artificial medium employed on the occasion.

APPENDIX,

No. IV.

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